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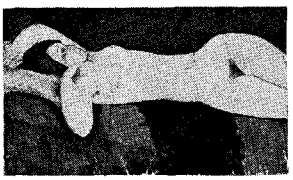

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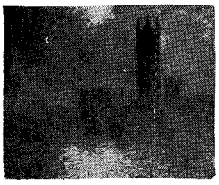

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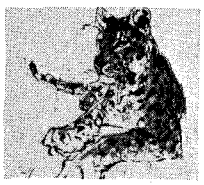

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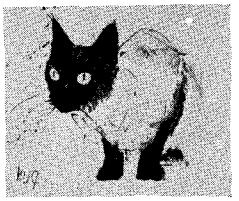

282. HUG: *THE CAT.* Lithograph on ***artist canvas.*** Browns, tans & yellow. 22″ x 28″. *Only* **5.95**
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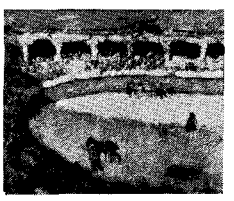

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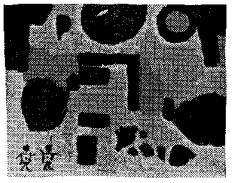

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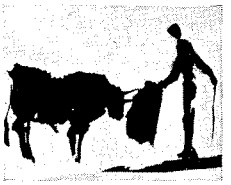

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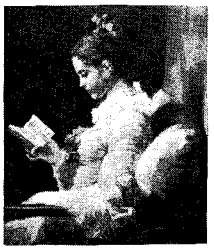

279. FRAGONARD *YOUNG GIRL READING.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in lovely sunlight colors. One of the most famous paintings in the world. 20″x26″. *Only* **6.95**

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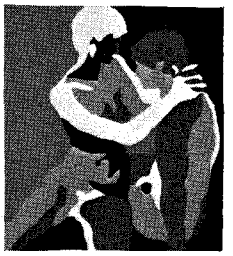

306. HAUSMAN. *THE PARTING.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas.*** Contemporary masterpiece in brilliant yellow, blue, purple, orange & green. 16″ x 20″. *Pub. @ $15.* *Only* **5.95**
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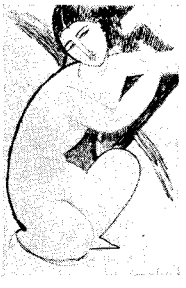

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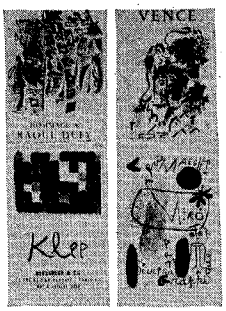

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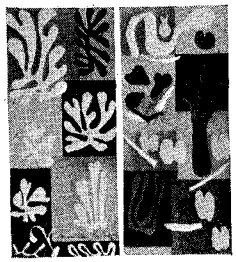

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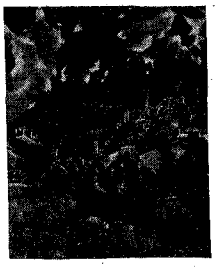
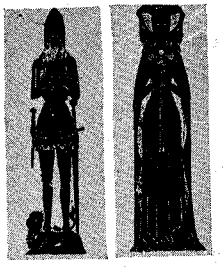
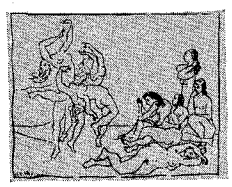
276. PICASSO *THE OLD GUITARIST.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in blues. 18" x 26". *Pub. @ $15.00. Only* **5.95** **514.** Paper. **2.98**



234. EL GRECO *VIEW OF TOLEDO.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in blues, greens, greys, with a lacquer finish. Over 25 screens used in reproduction. 20" x 22". *Pub. at $35.00. Only* **9.95**



231. PAIR OF MEDIEVAL BRASS RUBBINGS: *KNIGHT AND LADY.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in black & metallic gold. 12" x 36". *Pub. at $18. The Pair, Only* **6.95** **165.** The above on parchment paper. *The Pair, Only* **3.95**



307. PICASSO. *DANCES.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas.*** An exciting rendering of nude dancers from Picasso's classic period. Black & white. 17" x 22" *Pub. $10. Only* **3.95**

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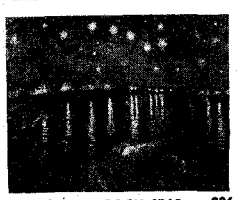
291. REMBRANDT *YOUNG WARRIOR.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in full color. 19" x 27". *Pub. @ $15. Only* **5.95**

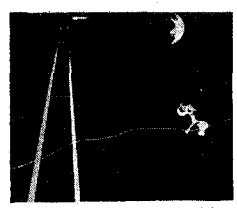
235. ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT. *BLUE KNIGHT.* Silkscreen ***artist canvas*** full color. 15" x 21". *Pub. at $10.00. Only* **2.98**



286. VAN GOGH *STARLIGHT OVER THE RHONE.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in full color. 20" x 25". *Pub. @ $35. Only* **9.95**

236. ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT. *GREEN KNIGHT.* Silkscreen ***artist canvas*** in full color. 15" x 21". *Pub. at $10.00. Only* **2.98**

246. EL GRECO *ST. MARTIN.* Silkscreen in full color on ***artist canvas*** 15¾" x 30". *Only* **6.95**



259. MIRO. *DOG BARKING AT THE MOON.* Silkscreen ***artist canvas.*** Shades of yellow, blue, red, green, violet. 16" x 21" *Pub. @ $15. Only* **5.95** **130.** Paper. *Only* **2.98**

283. HUG: *THE TIGER.* Lithograph on ***artist canvas.*** Browns, tans and yellow. 22" x 28". *Only* **5.95** **509.** On paper. *Only* **2.98**

266. REMBRANDT *MAN IN GOLDEN HELMET.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in full color. 22" x 28". *Pub. at $10.00. Only* **5.95**

237. *UNICORN IN CAPTIVITY.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in full color. 19" x 28". *Pub. @ $18. Only* **5.95** **171.** Paper. *Only* **3.98**

253. CEZANNE *STILL LIFE.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in full color. 20" x 26". *Pub. at $20.00. Only* **5.95**

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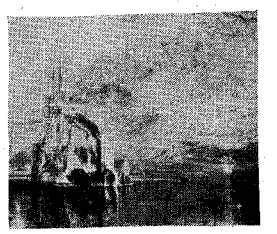
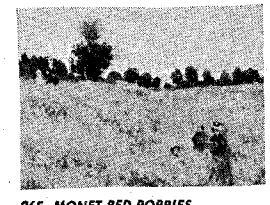


278. TURNER *THE FIGHTING "TEMERAIRE".* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in panoramic full color. 20" x 28". *Pub. at $35. Only* **7.95**

244. MODIGLIANI. *SKETCH OF MARIE.* Silkscreen ***artist canvas.*** Sepia tones. 15" x 23" *Pub. @ $12.00 Only* **4.95** **183.** On Paper. *Only* **1.98**

292. HUG. *THE ZEBRA.* Lithograph on ***artist canvas.*** Blues, blacks & yellows. 22" x 28" *Special* **5.95**

250. MANET. *THE PIPER.* Silkscreen ***artist canvas*** in full color. From the Louvre. 15" x 25" *Pub. $18. Only* **2.98**



265. MONET *RED POPPIES.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in full color. Impressionist masterpiece of figures strolling through a summer field of red poppies. 19" x 24". *Pub. @ $25.00.* *Only* **7.95**

281. PICASSO *TOREROS.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in B/W. 18" x 24". *Pub. $7.50. Only* **2.98**

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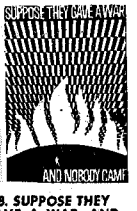
267. PICASSO *PICADOR.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas*** in B/W. 18" x 24". *Pub. $7.50. Only* **2.98**



198. *SUPPOSE THEY GAVE A WAR—AND NOBODY CAME.* Black & dayglo red silkscreen. 25"x38". *Only* **4.95**

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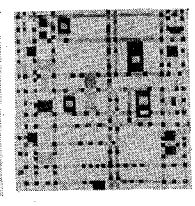
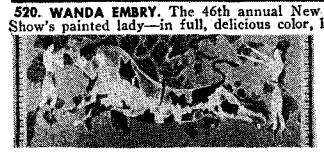


225. MONRIAN. *BROADWAY BOOGIE WOOGIE.* Silkscreen on ***artist canvas.*** In full color. 21" x 21". *Only* **2.98** **159.** Paper. *Only* **1.00**

532. MATISSE. *BLUE NUDE.* Bright blue silkscreen. Parchment paper. 16" x 23" *Only* **2.98**

121. DURER. *ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT.* Silkscreen in gold, black & red on parchment paper 23" x 31" *Only* **1.49**

520. WANDA EMBRY. The 46th annual New York Art Directors Club Show's painted lady—in full, delicious color, life like! and life size! 12" x 63". *Only* **4.95**



201. CRETAN BULL DANCERS. Silkscreen on ***artist canvas.*** Full color 17" x 46". *Pub. @ $12. Only* **6.95** **103.** Paper *Only* **3.95**

206. FRIEZE. FROM A CHINESE TOMB. Silkscreen on ***artist canvas.*** In red & beige. 14" x 50½" *Pub. @ $17.50. Only* **5.95**

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875. Esso Tiger: I NEED YOU NOW! The Esso Tiger in brilliant dayglo red and orange. 29" x 39½". *Only* **1.98**

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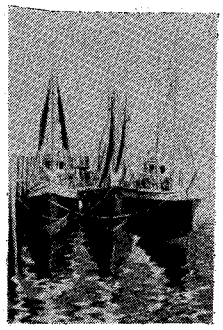

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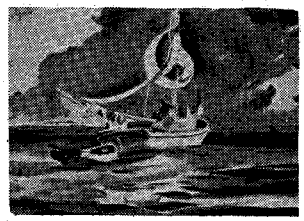

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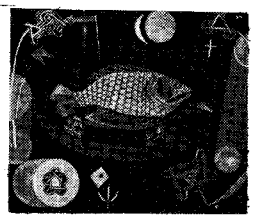

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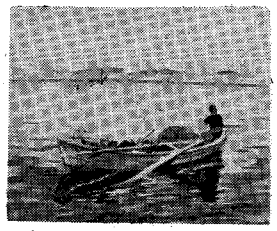

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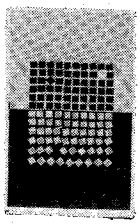

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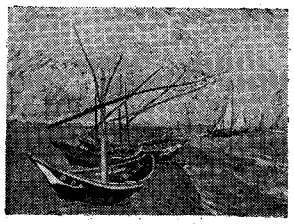

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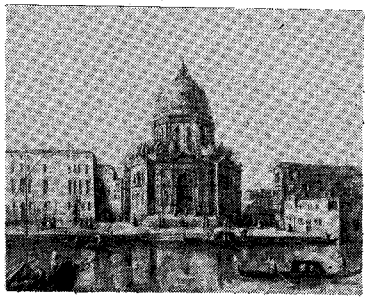

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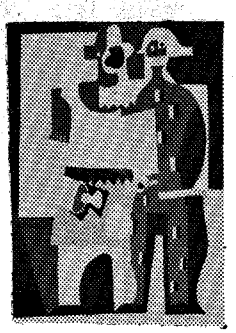

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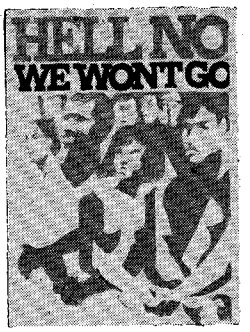

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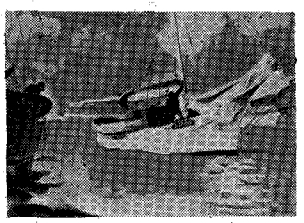

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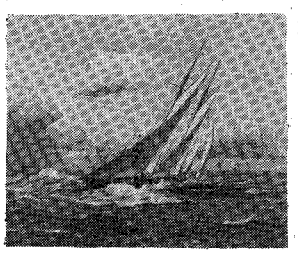

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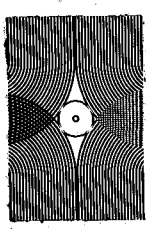

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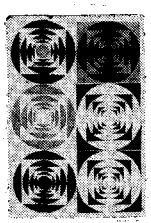

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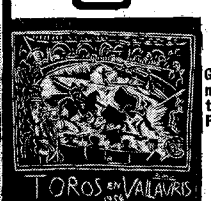

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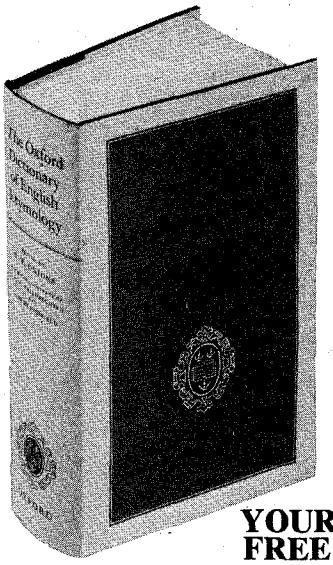

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TRB

from Washington

Good Old AMA

The US lags behind 14 other nations in infant mortality and behind 17 in life expectancy (for US males, 66.8 years) but it is unrivaled in one respect; US doctors are the highest paid in the world. A 1967 study put their median income at $32,170 (five times the national median) and it has been rising rapidly since.

This is gratifying for the physicians but tough on the patients. If the US had national health insurance like France, Germany and England, health care would almost certainly be cheaper. The US can transplant hearts but it can't deliver health service.

"Any practical, reasonable man would agree that the costs of medical care are prohibitive today for 99 percent of the American people," says John H. Knowles, director of the Massachusetts General Hospital, who was just vetoed by Mr. Nixon for the top health post of the nation. "There must be an insurance mechanism to protect people against this kind of economic ruin."

Dr. Knowles, a fund-raising Nixon Republican and protege of HEW Secretary Finch, the most liberal man in the cabinet, was blackballed by the American Medical Association in the shabbiest deal since Mr. Nixon took office. Some think GOP conservatives were really gunning for Finch. This, and the snide way in which Mr. Nixon treated Clark Clifford in the Vietnam incident, has caused a great change of mood in Washington. Some people who have been trying to suspend judgment conclude that the real Richard Nixon has stood up.

What is the AMA? Well, it was founded in 1845 by a small band of dedicated doctors to "promote better health." Today it has a split personality: on the technical-educational side it does great good; on the political side it is one of the most reactionary forces in the country with power to reach right into a vacillating President's office and say No, you shall not appoint this man! Once more, as when the National Rifle Association emasculated the gun control law, the public sees the monstrous lobbies that decide its fate.

It seems incredible now, but when Teddy Roosevelt's Progressive Party in 1912 came out for compulsory health insurance (following the new laws in Germany and France) the AMA was sympathetic. Its *Journal* actually carried a supporting article. Dr. Alexander Lambert, later president of AMA, in 1917 named a committee which concluded that voluntary health insurance was unworkable and that only compulsory insurance would "reach the people that needed it most." But that was 50 years ago. Then AMA became what it is today, a medical trade union embracing two-thirds of all physicians. The ice age set in.

The AMA *Journal* became the implacable opponent of forward trends in social medicine and reached a kind of frenzy under Franklin Roosevelt when the British adopted their own National Health plan and AMA feared the US would follow suit. It would lead, it was charged, to "socialism, communism and even inciting to revolution."

Dr. Morris Fishbein edited the AMA *Journal* for 30 years. The *Journal* got an English doctor to send weekly reports which were published alongside the editorial page. He called the plan a failure which English doctors opposed. Dr. Cox, secretary of the British Medical Association (BMA), wrote the *Journal* that its objections "had not the slightest validity." The *Journal*'s English correspondent, it developed, was not a member of the BMA and was in disrepute.

When Congress in 1930 granted federal funds to state health agencies to reduce death rates of mothers and children the AMA said it "tended to promote communism." In 1939 Dr. Fishbein denounced federal unemployment insurance systems as "the first step toward the breakdown of American democracy, a definite step toward either communism or socialism." Extension of Social Security to embrace the totally and permanently disabled at age 50 was "a serious threat to American medicine."

In the forties public opinion polls showed two-thirds of the people wanted health costs covered by Social Security, but the powerful AMA helped to kill Truman's legislation. It offered cash prizes as high as $3,000 to cartoonists to publish pro-AMA cartoons.

The AMA is nonpartisan in the sense that it acts only through its political arm, and through this device it has fought progress by almost anyone. It objected even to a bill from "Mister Republican," Sen. Robert Taft, for the benefit of schoolchildren. In 1953 it called "socialistic" a federal regulation requiring that state crippled children's services provide diagnostic services to any child.

There was a brief love affair with President Eisenhower when Ike roguishly told AMA that he had "philosophical bonds with the medical profession – I don't like the word 'compulsory.' I am against the word 'socialism.' " His HEW secretary, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, told the ecstatic doctors that hers would be "an AMA administration." But when the AMA nominated a doctor to fill the top health post (the one Knowles didn't get) she complained, "Why don't they send somebody good?" In fact, the AMA helped defeat three weak health recommendations by Eisenhower.

Cashing In

Well, that's the story. The AMA tends to put its money on Republicans and then cash in after elections. Indeed, Mr. Nixon himself, in the 1960 campaign showed his sympathy by charging that proposals to tie health care to Social Security would set up a "great state program" and would tend to herd "the ill and the elderly into institutions whether they desired this or not." When the proposals that Mr. Nixon feared began to take shape, Dr. Edward Annis for AMA called them "a cruel hoax and delusion."

In a way, though, AMA is right. It fights change and it can sense it coming. The great 89th Congress overwhelmingly passed Medicare (federal health insurance for the aged under Social Security) in 1965. And this reporter is quite confident that in ten years, maybe even five, Congress will expand Medicare to cover all of us – young, old, middle-aged, alike.

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Trick or Trip

It would be nice to think President Nixon plans to visit Bucharest because he feels he and the Rumanian leaders are both bored with the cold war and can devise ways for communism and capitalism to live well together. The more plausible explanation is that Mr. Nixon picked up a stick he could use to stir up a little trouble in the Russians' backyard. That's the old Nixon, and the new one too. It doesn't mean he's spoiling for a fight with the Russians, any more than the late John Foster Dulles's penchant for "brinkmanship" made the last Republican Administration a warmonger. But Dulles was a cold warrior to his fingertips and Mr. Nixon, an apt pupil, still is. He will negotiate with the Russians – in his own time, on his terms. Meanwhile, he'll show them he's master.

Old habits don't die hard, they live. The Rumanians meant to announce the visit on July 9. The President jumped the gun by more than a week, and the advanced timing handily helped smother the furor over the non-appointment of Dr. John Knowles. There is nothing subtle about Mr. Nixon, despite his campaign talk about the need for just that quality in American foreign policy. Referring then to the Asian nations he now proposes visiting this month before Rumania, Mr. Nixon said: "There is need for subtle encouragement of the kind of Asian initiatives that help bring the design [for Asia's future] to reality. The central pattern of the future in Asian relations must be American support for Asian initiatives." If the Thais, Filipinos, Indonesians, Indians and Pakistanis find a design or a pattern for their future in Mr. Nixon when he visits them, they will fare better than perplexed Americans have done so far. The President apparently is still running hard for office from the White House. He is out to win simultaneous applause from those who favor negotiations with the Russians and those who don't, from the friends of further heavy military spending on ABM and from its foes, from the AMA and Senator Dirksen, but also from liberals in both political parties; even from people who still support the Vietnam war as well as from all who want it ended fast. This chameleon quality is the only common factor discernible in the President's recent lunges and plunges. Conspicuously lacking is the suggestion of some kind of order or pattern that would indicate a coherent policy, intended to move this country and the world toward peace in Vietnam, and arms control as a necessary prelude to disarmament. What the country is

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offered, instead, is a patchwork of contrary moves and self-contradictory utterances. Among these, the most alarming is the President's gross mishandling of the strategic armaments problem; ABM and MIRV, the two newest superweapons of nuclear missile defense and attack. More than 40 US Senators have called on him to halt immediately the testing of the MIRV, the missile "bus" that enables one missile to carry up to 14 hydrogen bombs all aimed at different targets and amounting to the equivalent of millions of tons of TNT. The idea behind the resolutions the Senators sponsor is that if this country ceases testing MIRV's, the Soviet Union may never begin or will also stop. There would then be in force the kind of moratorium that President Eisenhower secured in 1958 for major nuclear tests, that lasted three full years. In that cooler atmosphere, the two nations might talk seriously about limiting the numbers of land missiles each possesses, ending the ABM and MIRV races before they are beyond recall, and perhaps even limiting the number of submarine missiles.

Mr. Nixon's response to this at his June 19 news conference was to praise the Senators' initiative as "very constructive." The very same day, a contract was handed the General Electric Company for the production of 68 MIRV's at an initial estimated cost of $88 million. That may have been simply the White House right hand not knowing what the Pentagon's left hand is fiddling with. The point is that the President took absolutely no steps to stop the contract or to implement the Senators' wise proposal. They had stressed, and he knows its urgency, that the Russians are likely to conclude from the GE contract that this country has already successfully tested and is now going to produce and deploy MIRV's. In that case they are bound to follow suit, and once both sides have MIRV's it becomes almost pointless to try to freeze numbers of missiles, as it cannot be known without inspection how many deadly MIRV's each side's missiles are carrying. Yet this is the same Mr. Nixon who declared solemnly on March 14, "I want no provocation that might deter arms talks," and who at the same June 19 press conference insisted, "As President, I intend to consult with the Senate, with Senator Fulbright and his colleagues in the Foreign Relations Committee, and with the Armed Services Committee, before taking any action, whenever I can." What wonder that both Committees are in revolt?

Congress may be partly to blame for the GE contract, since it earlier authorized and appropriated the money, apparently not knowing that "Mark 12's" were MIRV's; it should have known. But then why has the Pentagon spent on Safeguard since mid-March $315 million that were originally voted for Sentinel, when Deputy Defense Secretary Packard assured the Foreign Relations Committee on March 26 that money for Sentinel would not be spent on Safeguard?

The National Mood

Mr. Nixon figures that most Americans are fed "right up to here" with a lot more than the crime he mentioned when he thrust a hand under his chin and said at his press conference that dissatisfaction with public disorder explained the defeats of liberal candidates for city office in New York, Los Angeles, and Minneapolis. He figures that enough people to place Republican majorities in control of Congress next year and to reelect him in 1972 are fed up with, among other things, effective federal measures to guarantee black southerners the right to vote and black children the right to attend the public schools that white children attend.

Evidence that the President figures this way is to be found in the voting rights legislation recommended to Congress by Attorney General John N. Mitchell. More evidence to the same effect will be apparent when the Administration comes up with the revision of school policy that Nixon officials and the Departments of Justice and Health, Education, and Welfare are concocting. A common interpretation is that the voting-rights proposal and the pending school statement represent necessary payoffs to the white Southerners to whom Mr. Nixon is so largely indebted for his nomination and election last year. They are payoffs, and crude ones at that. But they also signify something of greater significance, and that is Mr. Nixon's reading of the predominant American temper. His assistants at the White House have been saying for many weeks that the kind of people who see in his concessions to the white South a retreat from nationally accepted standards of social and political decency do not understand what is really cooking in this country, and that Mr. Nixon does. What he perceives and is gambling upon is a national mood that is fundamentally identical with the Southern mood to which he catered last year and to which he is catering now in the hopes of national rewards at the polls in 1970 and 1972. He was not speaking idly last year when he included his Southern supporters in "the solid majority . . . the new coalition" of conservatively minded Americans that he then saw in the making. The coalition proved large enough to give him only 41 percent of the popular vote last November. But, with Southern help, it also gave him his electoral majority and that, quite plainly, is what he remembers and is undertaking to improve upon.

Only this line of calculation can explain the Administration's initial proposal to let the Voting Rights Act of 1965 lapse next year. It has worked quite well in the eight Southern states where it was intended to work. The Administration complaint that it is "regional legislation" and therefore unacceptable is so much rot. It is regional legislation because it deals with and has partially corrected a form of deliberate politi-

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cal denial that prevailed in 1965 and, if allowed to do so, would again prevail only in the Southern states and counties at which it was aimed. The Administration's "national" substitute for it is, even if it is not enacted, notice to Mr. Nixon's Southern white supporters and to his "silent majority" everywhere that he sympathizes with their reluctance to underwrite the political rights of black Americans with the full power and energies of the federal government. Some of his officials suggest that it is a signal flashed only for the record, that he and his Attorney General knew that Congress wouldn't let the '65 Act die, wouldn't replace it with the Nixon-Mitchell version. If so, the Administration proposal was political cynicism of the basest sort.

It is possible, perhaps even likely, that the forthcoming statement of school policy will not be quite so crass. We may expect that, like the Voting Rights proposal, it will be padded with claims of intent to continue enforcing the rights that it in fact impairs. The one conceivable reason for issuing it is to assure white Southerners, falsely, if the accompanying assertions of decent purpose are intended to be believed, that in this matter, too, they have the sympathy of the Nixon Administration, and have all the time to comply with the United States Constitution that Mr. Nixon and his officialdom can procure for them.

Who Speaks for Doctors?

The position of Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, which Dr. John Knowles lost, was important, but its importance is not clearly defined, since until only recently the leadership in health policy in HEW was not exerted principally by the Assistant Secretary. It was spread over a vast array of program directors and much of it centered on the Surgeon-General. Furthermore, after the battle, the post has been filled by a liberal Democrat whose views appear to be practically indistinguishable from Dr. Knowles's. What seems to have happened is that Knowles was vetoed by a few conservatives in the AMA leadership, reflecting only some members' point of view (probably less than half), at a time when the AMA is rapidly declining in representativeness. Given the present distribution of the nation's more than 300,000 physicians, it is understandable that most of them cannot take seriously the political stands of the organization that they join almost as a matter of course. Almost 20 percent of active physicians are salaried "hospital doctors," who can hardly share the individualized fee-for-service practice ethic of the AMA. Another eight percent are in federal hospitals, and seven percent are in teaching and administration. The strength of the AMA is in the fifth of all MD's in patient care who are general practitioners, and with only two percent of recent medical graduates going into general practice, that strength is fading. Nevertheless, with $2.5 million of campaign contributions, the Association can still strongly influence the shape of a health-care system that costs the public $53.1 billion annually – a $28.4 billion increase since 1961, two-thirds of which is due to higher costs alone, not to improved or expanded care. Medical costs are rising today at a rate twice that of over-all prices.

Invisible Appointments

Mr. Nixon's only high-visibility appointment to the judiciary so far – that of Chief Justice Burger – did not move beyond a moderate position, and that explains, perhaps, why it went through the Senate so smoothly. But at least one appointment Mr. Nixon has made to a crucial Southern federal court constitutes movement in a more radically conservative direction, and it is not easy to understand why *it* made no ripple.

G. Harrold Carswell of Tallahassee, Florida, was appointed a US District Judge by President Eisenhower in 1958. The Nixon Administration has elevated Judge Carswell to the US Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, whose jurisdiction includes most of the deep South and is the single most important federal agency in the evolution and enforcement of civil rights law in the South. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of the major civil rights organizations, filed a brief with the Senate Judiciary Committee opposing Judge Carswell's confirmation. Nevertheless, the nomination went through without controversy.

In a number of his civil rights decisions as district judge, which were reversed by the Court of Appeals he now joins, Judge Carswell showed himself grudging and unsympathetic toward Negro legal claims. He exhibited this attitude not only in cases involving the relatively complex problem of desegregating the public schools, but also in more elemental controversies concerning segregation in other public facilities, and harassment by local police of Negroes trying to desegregate private facilities, such as theaters.

It may be that Judge Carswell is not a man of quite the stamp of a Judge E. Gordon West of Louisiana, a Kennedy appointee and to all intents and purposes an unreconstructed segregationist on the bench, the author of countless delays, and whose every move to im-

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plement the law of desegregation has to be directly ordered by his superiors. But Judge Carswell's record does raise serious questions, and the puzzlement is why those questions were not asked by libertarians who sit on the Senate Judiciary Committee, such as Senators Hart, Javits, Tydings, Kennedy, Bayh and Burdick.

No doubt the feeling is that the game is futile, the nomination would have gone through anyway. It is necessary, however, to look beyond the immediate nomination, to give some signal to the Administration that the appointment of segregationist or reactionary judges will not be allowed to proceed invisibly. The Southerners in the Judiciary Committee never fail to mount a demonstration against judicial appointments which they cannot stop, but do not like. They act in the belief that if they are loud enough, an effort will in time be made to mollify them. When it comes to the tactics of opposition, the Southerners wrote the book. Democratic and Republican liberals on the Judiciary Committee should take a leaf from it.

The Old Gang's Fading Fast in Byrdland

Richmond, Va.

Virginia's gubernatorial primary on July 15 will provide an early test of whether liberal revival in the seventies is a realistic prospect for the South. Virginia has long been a conservative bastion. It seems incredible that it would swing even slightly to the left in the very year the traditional liberal coalition in Northern urban centers such as Minneapolis and New York is smarting from a "law and order" backlash.

Yet, signs of a swing are there.

Urbanization is a key factor. Thus far, the rapid growth of Southern population centers, from Virginia to Texas, has helped the Republican Party more than liberal Democrats. However, the increased participation of the black community in Southern politics is making it not only expedient but mandatory for even moderately conservative politicians in urban areas to whistle a slightly friendlier tune. Add to this the force of a new generation of Southern voters, many weaned on last year's "anti-war" politics, and the survival of a radical breed of labor leader over the last decade, and you begin to have the components for a progressive revival below the Mason-Dixon line.

To judge the potential of such a coalition, one needs to understand that the old, courthouse politics of the South is breaking up under the vast demographic and social changes of the last two decades. The old politics was built on a rural base, although financed by the corporate world. Typical is the Byrd organization of Virginia, for 40 years a national symbol of politics rooted in the plantation gentry and their banker friends and their domination of the courthouses. Its demise, or at least its realignment to adjust to rising new forces, was inevitable. The late Sen. Harry Byrd's heirs, being politicians, are drawn to the source of votes and in Virginia, this means the growing, unionized Hampton Roads area, the suburbs in the north, and Richmond. These urban areas dominate five of the state's ten congressional districts. The three major postulates of firm organization control of the state have been junked – "massive resistance," the Byrd answer to the Supreme Court's desegregation order; the "golden silence" on national elections, which was finally broken in 1964 when the Virginia state convention insisted on endorsing the Johnson-Humphrey ticket; and the famed "pay as you go" philosophy. Today, each of the three Democratic gubernatorial candidates is trying to mold a different coalition.

By far the most interesting is State Sen. Henry Howell of Norfolk, a new breed of urban populist who has been on the offensive against the "big boys" since he burst on the state scene in 1959 by winning election to the state assembly as an opponent of massive resistance. Since then, he has never ceased to attack, never allowed his opponents to set the ground rules by raising phony issues. The son of a lumber salesman, Howell has for 10 years gone out of his way to offend the state's most powerful people, who are terrified that he may become governor. Howell for instance brought successful suit against the State Corporation Commission's higher auto insurance rates; now the companies have to refund $2 million to policy holders. This year, Howell is busily attacking a new state sales tax on food and drugs, eliciting support simultaneously in suburban homes generously endowed with children and in the poverty-ridden ghettoes. If he can raise the money – $50,000 for television in the campaign's final fortnight – he just might win.

Howell has put together an unusual package – organized labor, which endorsed him a year ago; the bulk of the black community, which is getting more demanding of its candidates; students activated last year; suburbanites attracted by Howell's long identification with their causes (one-man, one-vote, fairer distribution of school funds).

It has long been apparent that George Wallace's appeal went far deeper than racism. It was the lower-middle class, riddled with anti-intellectualism as a starter and, in the late sixties, feeling just as alienated as the student rebels it hates, whom Wallace organized

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from coast to coast. Society has failed many of them as miserably as it failed the country's huge minority blocks. A look at Appalachia is instructive on this point. The poor white, left unprotected by state government, is often a victim of empty racial or class demagoguery. But the inequities Howell speaks of (the way the Byrd organization keeps tight control over local communities, the State Corporation Commission's willingness to grant almost any increase requested by private utilities) affect black and white alike. He hasn't found it necessary to make a racial pitch, either way.

His strongest competition comes from ex-Ambassador William Battle, a Charlottesville aristocrat, well-born, well-bred, and friend of the Kennedy family, who is calling for an orderly, moderate transition to more progressive policies in Byrdland. Battle's supporters, drawn largely from young, moderate professional and business circles that revolted against the "massive resistance" and "golden silence" doctrines, represent something quite different from the old Byrd organization. Behind Battle, for example, is Charles Covington, the new city treasurer in Newport News. In city politics, Covington works closely with leaders of the black community. In this election, Covington isn't taking the black community and labor with him (both are strongly for Howell in Newport News), but he and his colleagues have managed to isolate the dwindling remains of the Byrd organization in that city. An ex-deputy sheriff turned bill collector for a supermarket is running the campaign of Lt. Gov. Fred Pollard, candidate of organization diehards, in Newport News. The bill collector doesn't have much help.

Pollard is the third man. To the surprise of many, he has had a hard time cranking up the rural courthouse crowd, largely because there isn't anyone around to give them "the word."

Pollard and Battle both welcome black support. Both talk about progress, Battle in terms of "a catch-up" period in providing quality education, consumer protection and better mental health facilities; Pollard with such lines as making "the ultimate commitment" to provide everyone in Virginia with equal opportunity. It's a bit dull, but a far cry from Sam Yorty.

What happens if, in the final weeks, the organization does begin to sound the "law and order" bell? Howell will then be put to the test. When he goes to southwest Virginia, he looks around at the visible evidences of the failure of government – poor roads, inadequate hospital facilities and a shortage of doctors, pockmarked mountains and the isolation of rural poverty – and articulates the complaints of people in these terms. Will they still listen if confronted with alarms about student riots or abrasive black demands? That could be the most important test of the decade for the South. An August runoff appears probable between the two leading Democratic candidates. Even if Howell or Battle emerges from this as their party's nominee, there are still the Republicans. And for many years they've won in Virginia whenever they've run to the right of the Democrats.

Paul R. Wieck

Close of the Warren Era

by Alexander M. Bickel

There was a unique ceremony in the Supreme Court on June 23, unprecedented and not very likely to recur. The retiring Chief Justice presided over the last session of his tenure. The President of the United States, a member of the bar, addressed the Court in praise of it and of its outgoing head. There was a response by Chief Justice Warren stressing the independence of the Court and of each of its members – men and an institution answerable not to any constituency, but to a historic document, and to conscience. And then the Chief Justice, who was leaving "in a happy vein," he said, swore in his successor.

It was an arresting occasion, and a curious one. For all the world, it looked like a transfer of power, witnessed by the broker who engineered it – Mr. Nixon. But little power inheres in the office of Chief Justice as such, and none of the power – for which read, prestige – that had come to attach to the person of Earl Warren was transmitted that day to Warren Burger, the new Chief Justice. Both the President and Chief

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Justice Warren noted the continuity of the Court itself, and its function of maintaining continuity. The Supreme Court is indeed a symbol of continuity. Yet it is a working, not a passive symbol, and seldom so much as in the past ten years has it offered change, nearly revolutionary change, in the guise of continuity.

The Chief Justiceship of Earl Warren opened with *Brown v. Board of Education*, the school segregation cases. Since then, in briefest summary of the high points, the Court has declared Bible reading and all other religious exercises in public schools unconstitutional; it has ordered the reapportionment of the national House of Representatives, of both houses of state legisatures, and of local government bodies on a one-man, one-vote basis; it has reformed numerous aspects of state and federal criminal procedure, significantly enhancing the rights of the accused, including juvenile offenders; it has laid down a whole set of new rules governing the admissibility of confessions in evidence, and, in effect, the conduct of police throughout the country toward persons arrested on suspicion of crime; and it has held that wiretapping and eavesdropping are subject to the Fourth Amendment's prohibition against unreasonable searches and seizures. The Court has also enlarged its own jurisdiction to hear cases challenging federal expenditures on the ground that they violate the First Amendment's proscription of an establishment of religion; it has expanded the concept of state action under the Fourteenth Amendment, thus enabling itself and the Congress to reach and root out private discriminations that are not sponsored or initiated by state governments or their subdivisions; and it has introduced a striking degree of permissiveness into the regulation – what is left of it – by state and federal authorities of material alleged to be obscene. In addition, the Court has limited the power of state and federal governments to forbid the use of birth-control devices, to restrict travel, to expatriate naturalized or native-born citizens, to deny employment to persons whose associations are deemed subversive, and to apply the laws of libel. This is a catalog of action, whether or not it is viewed as a roster of achievements.

The last term of the Warren Court, just ended, was not its most spectacular, nor its happiest, considering the Fortas affair and the general to-do about extracurricular activities. Even so, the Court managed to add several important decisions to its record, and in a few instances to break fresh ground. In the area of criminal procedure, which for the past five or six years has captured so much of the Court's attention, and the country's, the Court made applicable to the states certain rather technical rules concerning double jeopardy that had previously governed only in federal trials. In two other cases, the Court required trial judges to satisfy themselves with the utmost explicitness that the defendant fully understands the consequences of a plea of guilty. Counsel is, of course, available to defendants at this stage, but such a vast percentage of all criminal cases end with a plea of guilty that the Court evidently thought it necessary to impress on trial judges their own independent responsibility, quite aside from that of counsel, to ensure by detailed personal interrogation of the defendant that the plea has not been extracted from him through a bad or ill-understood bargain with the prosecution. The Court also extended its most famous procedural decision, *Miranda v. Arizona*. It decided that a suspect's right to counsel in the course of police interrogation applies not only in the stationhouse after formal arrest, but anywhere, even on the suspect's premises, after the most informal, and even merely implicit, arrest.

In a case from Louisiana, the Court held that a legislative investigation – presumably whether state, as in this instance, or federal – could not constitutionally proceed in the usual fashion, free of procedural requirements that prevail in judicial or administrative hearings, if the purpose of the investigation is not legislative, but rather accusatory, as when an investigation seeks to expose violations of criminal law by specified individuals, whom it then publicly brands as criminals. The general principle that legislative investigations are authorized because they are aimed at gathering facts necessary for legislation, and that they may not assume an accusatory or punitive function has long been understood, but only very rarely has the Court concluded that an investigation was in fact accusatory and punitive rather than legislative, and hence invalid. Even more novel was a holding that unless there is a state of martial law, which could exist only under conditions of extraordinary domestic peril, a nonmilitary offense against a nonmilitary victim, committed by a serviceman while off the post on pass, is not subject to court-martial jurisdiction, and must be tried in the civil courts under their normal procedures.

The law governing the poor was reformed during the past year in two aspects. In many jurisdictions, the collection of small debts is allowed to begin with a virtually automatic attachment by the creditor of the debtor's wages. This procedure, which amounts to action against the debtor first, and litigation afterward, was held unconstitutional. The Court also struck down state statutes that bar residents of less than one year's duration from welfare benefits. Essentially such statutes are meant to deter the immigration of indigents into a state, and that, said the Court, violates a constitutional freedom of movement within the United States.

Applying the First Amendment, the Court said that school authorities could not bar the wearing of antiwar armbands by pupils during school hours, even though the authorities feared a resulting disruptive in-

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fluence. Some disruption is protected by the First Amendment, as the Court indicated also when it held that speaking contemptuously of the flag was not an act that could constitutionally be punished. And in the Arkansas anti-evolution case, the Court held that a state may not forbid the teaching of Darwinian theory on the ground that it conflicts with religious beliefs that the state respects or prefers.

The poltical rights of minor parties and independent candidates were given explicit constitutional guarantee for the first time, in three decisions holding that states could not keep parties or independent candidates off the ballot by imposing overly onerous qualifying requirements, such as that they organize nationally, or organize very early, or collect as many signatures as 15 percent of the electorate, or collect a set number of signatures from each county, regardless of population. The Court's earlier legislative apportionment decisions were clarified and toughened when the Court insisted that districts must not only be as equal as practicable, but must be mathematically equal, as of course, within any given state, they can be. Finally, in a valedictory opinion by Chief Justice Warren in the Adam Clayton Powell case, the Court held that no duly-elected person could be excluded from either House of Congress so long as he had the constitutionally stated qualifications of age, residence and citizenship, though perhaps in certain circumstances he can be expelled by a two-thirds vote.

The Warren Court has been, as the saying goes, controversial. It has had fervent admirers. But there have been those who, with equal fervor, have not admired it. And there have been doubters. In part, the Warren Court has been controversial for the same reason that every significant President, or Cabinet officer or Senator is controversial. Being bold and active, the Court has gored some oxen, and the owners have not liked it. Others have disagreed with the Court's results – in criminal and legislative apportionment cases, for example – for less self- or group-centered reasons. Finally there have been doubts and misgivings of yet another sort.

An independent body of men, not responsible or responsive after the fashion of democratic institutions, but answerable only, as Chief Justice Warren pointed out in his farewell remarks, each to his conscience, is an effective instrument for ensuring fairness and justice in the government's dealings with the individual. It is a splendid instrument also for forcing the society's attention to issues of principle, particularly issues of moral principle, that often are submerged in the welter of affairs. Certainly the Warren Court has discharged this office. When such a body of men goes farther, not merely to expose issues of principle, but to impose its own resolutions of them, the consequences may again be beneficial. Of that, posterity is the judge. But contemporaneous doubts are rooted in the democratic faith, which holds that the society at large ought to participate in the venture of governing itself, and that the general good is achieved by the pragmatic trial and error – having regard to principle, but not dogmatically bound to it in action – which is the genius of democratic institutions. These are generalized doubts. Now and again, the Court succeeds in doing great and enduring work in the teeth of such doubts. This was largely the case with the nationalizing work of John Marshall's Court. But it has not often been the case in other periods when the Supreme Court has undertaken to form and put into effect major policies. Hence the doubts not only persist, but are strengthened by the past history of the Court.

A Court sensitive to these doubts tends to attack problems at retail, in the smallest possible compass, illuminating ultimate principles in the glare of its headlights, as it were, but seldom speeding ahead to seize such principles and to deploy them for the definitive, authoritative resolution of large social and political issues. Speed, however, and the confident, single-minded imposition of solutions to problems of the first magnitude – these have been the hallmarks of the Warren Court. They were observable in Chief Justice Warren's final year. Thus in the Powell exclusion case, the Court welcomed the opportunity to intervene, even though Justice Stewart, in dissent, strongly argued that the controversy was moot, and that the issue of the power of Congress to exclude should, therefore, be avoided in this case. And then the Court was not satisfied to hold that in view of the procedure Congress had followed (Powell was granted virtually no right to a hearing on the charges against him), Powell could not be excluded for the sort of misbehavior that was laid to him. Rather the Court held flatly that Congress may not exclude any duly elected member who meets the qualifications of age, residence and citizenship, which are stated in the Constitution, to be sure, but which are not there explicitly said to be the only relevant qualifications. What of a member-elect whose sanity is in question, or who is under indictment, let us say, for espionage? He represents his constituency, which wants him to do so, no doubt, but he comes to Congress to take part in governing all of us. It is not easy to say what Congress should be empowered to do about him, but it is not easy to see either why the Court wrote an opinion that purported to decide such hypothetical cases as well as the case before it. Again, when it held that states may not seek to deter the migration of indigents by denying them welfare benefits during their first year of residence, the Court formulated an apparently absolute right of movement within the United States, binding on Congress as well as the states, and secure not only against coercive measures by government, but also against efforts to deter, and presumably

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otherwise to regulate, mass migrations. That is quite a proposition.

Is it possible to be certain that the country can live, permanently and to its benefit, with such large inflexible principles? Pragmatic skepticism has not been one of the attributes of the gallant Warren Court, and even its most widely acclaimed achievements – in legislative-apportionment, in certain criminal, and even in school-integration and school-prayer cases – may in the end suffer from this lack.

Rumania for Rumanians

Why's the President Going to Bucharest?

by Philip Ben

President Nixon's visit to Bucharest, coming so soon after Rumania's participation in the Moscow World Communist conference, where she was very much in a minority, is considered by some as an attempt by the Bucharest boss, Nikolai Ceausescu, to demonstrate his country's desire to play a role outside the Soviet bloc. The Rumanians have been trying for several years to establish a better relationship with the US.

After the first Soviet-Rumanian quarrel early in the sixties (caused by Rumania's refusal to produce almost exclusively raw materials needed by the industries of Russia, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Poland), policymakers in Bucharest began increasing their trade with the West. In 1964, the then director of the Rumanian economy, Gaston Marin, came to Washington where he got promises of credits from the Export-Import Bank and other American financial institutions, as well as from large companies interested in selling machinery and technological expertise.

Most of those eggs never hatched. Congress was not keen on extending to Rumania the more liberal trade advantages enjoyed by two other Communist countries, Poland and Yugoslavia. The Firestone Corporation, which undertook to build a synthetic rubber plant in the heart of the Rumanian oil fields, hurriedly withdrew from the deal when a right-wing campaign, allegedly financed by a competing corporation, charged it with "selling out to the Reds." Rumania, in the midst of tremendous industrial development, needed more and more dollars to pay for machines she no longer wanted to get from other Communist countries. She was denied them. Rumanian exports to the US are at the ridiculously low level of one or two million dollars a year (50 times less than Poland's).

Those who matter in Washington – congressmen, bureaucrats, political writers – have seemed unaware that this little-known country, situated at the very perimeter of Soviet power, was trying to determine its fate, or that the effort took some courage. Yet when Tito broke with Stalin and was confronted with a Soviet political and economic boycott, combined with military subversion, he received huge amounts of US military and economic aid over the years, which contributed mightily to keeping Yugoslavia going as a truly sovereign state. Even Gomulka's Poland was rewarded in 1957 for its faint efforts to win a measure of freedom from Moscow. The US began giving Poland almost $100 million worth of wheat a year, and continued the shipments even when it became clear to the most unsophisticated bureaucrats in the State Department that the Polish rulers had become reliable allies of the Kremlin.

Washington's inability or unwillingness to honor its 1964 promises cost Gaston Marin his post. Nevertheless, the Rumanian policy of seeking wider contacts with all countries, without regard to their ideology or international ties, continued. That policy corresponded to the national desire for independence in face of growing pressures from the orthodox members of the Soviet bloc, by whom Rumania is almost entirely surrounded.

The summer of 1967 is chiefly remembered for the Glassboro meeting between President Johnson and Premier Kosygin, the results of which were nil. Almost forgotten is the visit to Washington about that time of the Rumanian premier, Gheorghe Maurer. Maurer was the second head of a Communist government (Khrushchev was the first) to be received at the White House. But certain hopes that Washington harbored failed to materialize. The Rumanians didn't, and indeed couldn't, change Chinese hostility toward the US, despite the intimacy between Bucharest and Peking. Rumanian influence in Hanoi proved nonexistent, which should have been no surprise, considering how little influence Moscow has over North Vietnam. At any Communist gathering, the Rumanian leaders joined in the denunciation of "American imperialism" and its "Vietnamese adventure." At the same time, however, the Rumanians were reluctant to let the Cubans studying in Rumania stage demonstrations in front of the American Embassy, which reluctance almost led to a break with Castro.

Then, in the summer of 1968, came the invasion of Czechoslovakia, carried out only a few days after Ceausescu had gone to Prague to show his solidarity with Dubcek. The alarm bells rang in Bucharest. The Soviet, Hungarian and Bulgarian troops – massed on their respective borders with Rumania – seemed ready to march in. (Several Soviet tank divisions were trans-

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fered by sea to Bulgaria and were observed on the Rumanian frontier, hardly more than 50 miles from Bucharest.) When I visited Bucharest in early September, 1968, the possibility of an invasion *"à la Czechoslovakia"* was on everyone's mind.

The Rumanians firmly believe that their country was spared the fate of Czechoslovakia for two reasons. The first was Ceausescu's decision to create a National Guard, consisting of factory and white-collar workers and peasants, who kept watch through days and nights over collective farms and public buildings. As a military force they were no serious obstacle to the Soviet army. But as a sign the Rumanians would not (as the Czechs did) allow Soviet tanks to move without being fired upon, the gesture was crucial.

The second reason had something to do with the sudden appearance in New York of Foreign Minister Manescu, under the pretext of official business as the outgoing president of the UN General Assembly. Manescu's contacts at that time received no publicity. But a few days later, in a speech in Texas, Lyndon Johnson warned the Soviet leaders "not to unleash the horses of war." In Bucharest, there were cheers. They much preferred that sentence to the remark of the then French foreign minister, Michel Debre, for whom the invasion of Czechoslovakia was only "a traffic accident."

When the immediate danger of foreign occupation abated, Rumania's leaders began to calculate on a longer run. They could not help noticing that the US, bogged down in Vietnam, could not and would not make any move in Central and Eastern Europe. With dismay they listened to American liberals concede to Russia absolute mastery over Eastern Europe. De Gaulle, who only a short while before had repeated: *". . . La France . . . la Roumanie . . . amitié,"* was now refusing any aid, any guarantee.

The Rumanians concluded that in the event of any new confrontation with the Kremlin, the West would sit on its hands. They stopped making speeches bluntly condemning the invasion of Czechoslovakia. They cancelled the visit to America of one of their top atomic scientists. Might Moscow be offended that Rumanian journalists for the first time had been invited to West Germany? The journalists were recalled.

Simultaneously, the Rumanians began to play up the possibility of a European security pact, whose participants – members of NATO, of the Warsaw Pact, or neutrals – would renounce the use of force as a means of settling the old continent's disputes. And they were shrewd enough to whisper that, after all, the US, though not exactly a European power, could not be left out – which immediately triggered a negative from de Gaulle. The Rumanians are too realistic to think that Europe is ready for any such idyllic proposal. Their immediate objectives were and are less ambitious. They believe that the more the Soviet leaders are drawn into international negotiations, the less they will be tempted to punish "dissidents" by force.

The entire Rumanian behavior of recent months, including their participation in the Moscow Communist conference, their refusal to walk out despite violation of the promise that the Chinese would not be attacked, and finally, Ceausescu's signature of the declaration after only a very mild reservation, can be explained by this desire not to annoy the Soviet leaders, to give in on peripheral matters. On the main questions, however – Rumania's right to chart her own course in her own interest, and to take precautions against a too powerful, too immediate neighbor – Rumanian leaders have remained firm.

A precondition of any such policy is amicable relations with Communist China on one hand and the US on the other. The exchange of extremely friendly speeches the other day, between the new Chinese ambassador and Ceausescu, shows that Peking isn't too upset by the participation of Bucharest in the anti-Chinese gathering in Moscow. As to the US, the Rumanians have for years made noises intended to encourage influential Americans to take interest in their country. But until now all they got back was an echo. They were sensible enough to be kind to Richard Nixon, in 1967, at a time when he was not even sure of getting the Republican nomination. He came to Bucharest probably only because the Poles would not give him a visa and the Soviet leaders would have none of him. Did President Nixon's aides remind him that Rumanian officials established contacts with them – the only Communist representatives to do so – even before he was elected? We don't know. We do know that the coming Presidential visit is an American, not a Rumanian, initiative. And the fact that Rumania is willing to receive him suggests that Ceausescu feels that he needs a manifestation of American support, and that he is confident enough that Moscow will contain the anger that this visit undoubtedly is going to arouse in the Kremlin.

What might the visit accomplish? Could the Rumanians act as intermediary between the US and Communist China? Many Rumanian policymakers believe that American-Chinese coexistence is not impossible, and that, once the Vietnamese war is over, it may be less difficult to arrange than American-Soviet coexistence. As a modest beginning, it might be possible to transfer to Bucharest the hopelessly stalled Warsaw talks between Peking and Washington, which the Chinese at one point wanted to resume with the Nixon Administration. Though Peking will certainly be suspicious of Mr. Nixon's visit to the Philippines, Thailand, India, Pakistan and especially Indonesia – they are not going to criticize him for going to Bucharest.

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Action Report

ABM — III

The President's revelation that the Soviet Union is "testing multiple reentry vehicles" and that "it's footprints indicate that it just happens to fall somewhere in the precise area in which our Minutemen silos are located," is the Administration's most recent installment in a fantasy of terror to win approval for Safeguard. Minuteman installations contain 350 underground silos, placed in a random manner. Although the Soviet SS9 is a high-accuracy missile, its warheads are not independently targetable and cannot be directed to individual silos. The President's inference that they can is misleading.

ABM Headcount. The President prefaced his missile remarks with a confident assertion of victory on the Safeguard Senate vote. By his count 50 or 51 Senators favor the ABM, 46 oppose it, 3 or 4 are undecided. Few in the Senate place credence in that estimate; most count 49 opposed, 47 for, and the remaining undecided. Uncommitted are Sens. Gale McGee (D., Wyo.), Len B. Jordan (R., Idaho), John Williams (R., Del.), and Thomas J. McIntyre (D., N.H.). Perhaps the most valuable uncommitted vote is that of Sen. McIntyre, who drafted an alternative which some consider an "out" for both sides (strong Safeguard opponents call it a "sellout").

The McIntyre proposal would allow construction of the ABM sites in North Dakota and Montana, but only as R&D facilities, not as the first phase of Safeguard deployment. But White House doors have been closed to the compromisers. They are told, in effect, "We do not need your advice; we will have Safeguard as it is." If McIntyre's proposal gets the same treatment from proponents during the upcoming floor debate; he may simply put it in his pocket, walk over to the opposition, and that could be it for Safeguard.

Presidential Pressure. A final Senate vote is not expected soon; floor discussion will start about July 7 and probably drag on while the Administration tries to whittle a few votes. Majority Leader Mansfield has said the Administration could win Safeguard if the President uses the power at his disposal. The experience of Sen. Warren G. Magnuson, is an indication of how a President can use that power. A recent guest on the Presidential yacht, along with several pro-ABM Senators, Magnuson was reminded that continuance of a supersonic transport project in home state Washington was up for Administration decision. The episode helps explain why some commentators predict a pyhrric victory for Nixon.

Compromises. Sen. Mansfield and some colleagues are working up a proposal to vote funds for Safeguard, but hold up actual deployment until either the talks with the Russians fail or the SS9

"Heel, Dammit!"

specter raised by Melvin Laird becomes reality. It is unlikely that this compromise will prove any more acceptable than McIntyre's, because the Administration and Safeguard opponents have different notions of what ABM means to the arms talks. The Administration maintains it cannot make a credible presentation to the Russians without Safeguard in the background; opponents regard it as provocative and a detriment to discussions.

Senate Fight. The floor fight, then, promises to be an unpretty slugfest for a few votes. Sen. John Stennis will manage a bill that was approved by a slight 10 to 7 majority of his Armed Services Committee. During the committee's wrangling over the $793.5 million requested to begin Safeguard construction, Stennis lost undecided Howard Cannon (D., Nev.), once a strong advocate of the ABM system. While appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to clear up rumors that the Administration was distorting intelligence reports on the Soviet first-strike capability, Defense Secretary Laird took the committee into a Twilight Zone of confusion. Laird and the committee spent two hours bickering over the precise meaning of "first strike." Sitting quietly next to the Defense Secretary was Richard Helms, whose Intelligence Board recently had found no immediate threat of a first strike. Afterward Laird said he and Mr. Helms were in basic agreement. The performance didn't impress the committee, which includes Sens. Williams and McGee, who have not made a decision (though the latter leans toward ABM approval).

The "Symington Chart." It is possible that Sen. Stuart Symington (D., Mo.) will demand the Senate close its doors to view what has come to be known as the "Symington Chart." Several weeks ago those who saw the chart said it would end the Safeguard debate were it made public. Devised by the Pentagon, the chart apparently shows that deploying Phase I and Phase II of Safeguard, even if it works, will not provide enough interceptors to counter a Soviet SS9 attack. Further, once the Russians know we have a system that can be overridden by x number of SS9's the temptation will be great to increase Soviet production to that level.

Presidential Stubbornness. Over three months ago, the bipartisan opposition to ABM asked that the President not make the issue a party fight; by rejecting compromise and giving himself little room for maneuver, the President is reducing the issue to party loyalty. Safeguard in its present form does not make the case for itself. Mr. Nixon's refusal to admit that is stiffening the opposition and may drive the several wavering Senators against the $11 billion proposal.

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De Gaulle's Legacy to Pompidou

by Stanley Hoffmann

Presidential elections, in France and elsewhere, can be disappointing. They focus attention more on personalities and on collective epidermic reactions to minor irritants than on fundamental issues. Nothing would have been more important for the French than a broad debate on the legacy of de Gaulle's eleven years in power. What was ignored by the politicians must now be taken up by the historians.

De Gaulle may have celebrated the virtues of secrecy and practiced the art of tactical surprise, but the thrust of his statecraft was never in doubt. His action had one overriding goal – restoring France's influence abroad, so that France could play as independent and active a role on the world stage as the world and French resources allowed. There was one prerequisite: a strong state, capable of marshalling those resources, and of correcting (if not eliminating) the Frenchmen's infinite capacity for political fragmentation. There also was a series of necessary means toward the goal, to be effected by the strong state: first, the elimination of obsolete, wasteful or entangling external commitments; secondly, internal economic and social modernization, without which France could not expect to be taken seriously as a world actor. Almost ten years after his return to power, it looked as if de Gaulle had largely succeeded in all three respects. But the crisis of May-June 1968 revealed the debit side of the balance sheet.

On the one hand, there were inevitable contradictions between the parts of the program. There was a permanent tension between the overriding goal – French grandeur in the world – and the necessary means – internal modernization. The latter required that France's limited resources not be wasted on attempts at imitating on a small scale the enterprises that only superpowers can afford, in space or in computer and nuclear technology. All the resources and energies devoted to foreign affairs – for the nuclear force, for overseas aid, for the accumulation of gold – were thus diverted from productive investments in France, or from carrying out an "incomes policy" so as to raise the standard of life of the underprivileged (especially the workers, whose wages were kept low so as to keep French industry competitive). Nor did such resources go into needed public requirements: de Gaulle's France, like Galbraith's America, could complain about unevenly divided private opulence, and public poverty.

There also was a subtler but just as important contradiction between the prerequisite to the goal, and the means. For the strong, centralized state, which undoubtedly contributed to the modernization of France's economy, nevertheless also proved to be a partly stifling and regressive force. It was regressive, insofar as, in trying to prevent industrial development from exacerbating social tensions (in a nation wedded to the idea that change should never disrupt the balance of rank and statuses) the state devoted large subsidies to declining activities, thus delaying their inevitable (and welcome) demise. It was stifling, insofar as the growing network of controls and regulations often paralyzed private initiatives and perpetuated both the citizens' very deep seated hostility to authority, and their habit of leaving decisions and responsibilities to the bureaucrats above. (Nowhere was this ambiguous role of the state more visible than in the national education system, whose budget the Fifth Republic increased considerably, but which suffered both from overcentralization and from insufficient attention to the need for radical reform.)

On the other hand, the crisis of last spring and summer also revealed that in each area of de Gaulle's concern, serious obstacles had appeared, or failed to be eliminated. In each instance, these obstacles contributed to the crisis; in each case, de Gaulle tried to cope with them, but in a way that either proved only partly successful, or else led to his fall.

In foreign affairs, one of the obstacles was the resistance of the international milieu to de Gaulle's grand attempts at changing it to France's advantage. No power today can transform the milieu drastically (it can much more easily prevent the milieu from being changed at its expense). A power the size of France, even when it is led by a great statesman, can rarely do more than exploit trends that it has not created. Unfortunately, one of those trends – nationalism in Eastern Europe – proved reversible, and the resistance of Britain and five of the Common Market countries to de Gaulle's concept of Europe blocked his design for an independent Western Europe of cooperating states. Indeed, by 1967, de Gaulle's main effort there was aimed at preventing the emergence of the kind of Western Europe he did not want. A second obstacle, a much deeper one, is the ambiguity of the

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STANLEY HOFFMAN *is professor of government at Harvard University and co-author of* In Search of France *and author of* The State of War *and* Gulliver's Troubles, or the Setting of American Foreign Policy.

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notion of independence for a middle-size nation-state. If independence means freely defining one's own general orientations in foreign affairs and defense, such sovereignty risks being purely formalistic or illusory unless the nation is also master of its armaments and advanced technology – or unless the nation does not aim at playing an active role on the world stage at all. If independence means being in full control of one's fate and having full freedom of action, France obviously would not qualify (not even the superpowers can claim such luxuries). But de Gaulle's policy aimed at something in between: putting the nation in control of those instrumentalities that would allow it to play a very important role – through a national industrial effort supplemented by bilateral and multilateral cooperation. This turned out to be unsatisfactory. The cooperative ventures with France's European neighbors were often disappointing, due to the addition of the partners' flaws and to their clashing priorities; the national effort strained France's resources. Whatever might have been "enough" to provide the means de Gaulle needed to achieve some of his foreign policy goals, would have entailed the very loss of French autonomy de Gaulle wanted to avoid, because it would have required the creation of a European entity with supranational powers or at least transnational activities uncontrolled by any member state.

De Gaulle's foreign policy had cured the French of their ugly nationalism of resentment, and raised their self-respect. But it was inevitably fragile. The Czech crisis, the need to cut back military expenditures after the domestic crisis, the sudden weakness of the franc cruelly pointed to the gap between aspirations and results. De Gaulle tried to trim his sails without changing his course. Hence his rapprochement with the United States and, in February, his cautious overture to Britain (which the British Government interpreted as a trap). But his domestic opponents – strengthened by the unpopularity of his Middle Eastern policy – stressed the need to choose between a heroic stance of independence, which they deemed politically futile and economically self-defeating, and economic progress at the cost of sacrifices of sovereignty. This issue played almost no visible part in de Gaulle's fall, but as the world role of France had been de Gaulle's great ambition, the fading of the role must have contributed to the fading of his charisma.

Next, the strong state so lyrically celebrated by him was rocked to its foundations by the May crisis. A less centralized and personalized regime might have been able to prevent troubles in two universities from developing into a nationwide *chienlit*. Here also, two serious problems were revealed. One, a state in which the Presidency has absorbed almost all other institutions may be better at overcoming a major crisis than a weak state, but it also helps turning a local incident into a national emergency. Two, an awkward party system composed of opposition parties agreed only on a nostalgia for the good old days, and of a complacent majority party with no real role in policy-making could not breathe any fresh air into those institutions.

It was in this area that the most serious misunderstanding developed between de Gaulle and the French. The May crisis ended because the fear of chaos overwhelmed the demands for change. De Gaulle masterfully appealed to that fear, in his speech of May 30, 1968. He saw in the huge Gaullist victory at the legislative elections of the following month the vindication of *his* contempt of government: to him, (as he was going to say in one of his last speeches in April, 1969) those elections were a referendum for his regime. He therefore strengthened the Presidential element even further, by dismissing Premier Pompidou, who had become an autonomous political force as engineer of the parliamentary victory. But the French, in voting for the Gaullist candidates, had expressed not only their desire for law and order, but also an aspiration to a more balanced regime, one in which the Premier and his party could act as checks on the President. It was a preference for normalcy. That the Gaullist deputies sensed it well was shown throughout the fall and winter by their coolness toward the new Premier, Couve de Murville, and by their restiveness toward de Gaulle's policies. De Gaulle therefore decided to test, once more, his conception of his regime, by resorting to a referendum, i.e. by addressing himself directly to the people above the parliamentarians' heads. Public opinion polls showed that the electorate, indifferent as long as the only issue at stake was the specific reform submitted to it, made up its mind after de Gaulle decided also to put his Presidency at stake. There is no doubt that many who voted no were confident that de Gaulle would win anyhow. But the fact that they were willing, this time, to say no to him, showed that they had grown tired of government by charisma.

De Gaulle had tried to synthesize France's two warring traditions – the authoritarian rule of a savior, the fragmented sovereignty of representatives – in a constitution that was a hybrid of presidential and parliamentary forms. But by temper and design he had skewed his regime more and more away from a synthesis, toward the pole of personal (although nondictatorial) power. Whenever he did not praise the solidity of his regime, he warned that his departure would bring back chaos! He thus exposed his state to a swing of the pendulum, as had happened so often before.

A setback had been made more likely by the vicissitudes of internal modernization. France's old stalemate society, largely rural, and reticent toward the values of industrialism was being liquidated. Change, expansion, an orientation to the future had replaced in the French value scheme the old clinging to stability and the past. But there were, once more, two sets of

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obstacles. One was a series of social tensions. There was the traditional, unresolved antagonism between alienated workers (split into rival unions) and a business community whose new (relative) dynamism had brought about little change in its paternalism. There were tensions between declining social groups (the less efficient farmers, shopkeepers, businessmen and artisans, but also the smalltown notables or lower members of the judicial professions) and the prospering groups. There were the anxieties of the rapidly growing forces representative of the emergent "post-industrial" society: the students, the young professionals in revolt against the so-called technocrats and against the consumer society. The crisis of May 1968 produced a sudden addition of all these tensions.

The second, and deeper, obstacle was the traditional style of authority, with its elitism, its combination of centralization and fragmentation, of authoritarianism and rebellion, and above all its rigidity. The Fifth Republic had pursued a policy of domestic change without mutation: of change directed from the top, by bureaucratic fiat. As a result, change had been quantitative rather than qualitative (there were more schools, but no new school system; more big corporations, but no progress in management; fewer peasants, but no corresponding rise in the productivity of the remaining farmers). The solution of the new problems (such as the cities' and the universities') had been sought through more centralization. The May crisis was a full-fledged revolt against all authorities, waged in the very same style against which it was rebelling, and therefore ultimately ineffective.

De Gaulle understood the nature of these obstacles. He interpreted, first the revolt and later his electoral victory, as a mandate for reform. The catchword was "participation," which was supposed to be the goal of a triple program of educational, regional, and industrial reform. The new higher education bill was passed last November. In presenting his scheme for new regions and a new Senate, last April, de Gaulle announced that the third and most controversial part would follow soon. But here, de Gaulle's actions ran into more difficulties. First there was the essential dilemma of change: how does one transform traditional patterns of behavior, attitudes toward authority, modes of change and habits of organization? Change by fiat and through centralization was not only the antithesis of participation, it also perpetuated distrust and irresponsibility at the bottom (this was clearly the case in the industrial area, where de Gaulle faced the convergent hostility of workers and businessmen). Change from below (by the full grant of autonomy to the rebellious subjects) was also self-defeating, given these subjects' inclination to bickering, lack of experience with face-to-face discussions, inability to compromise and dearth of effective instruments for organization and action. Change directed from the top and aiming at autonomy, but step by step or by prudent and revocable delegations of authority risked combining the disadvantages of both other courses. The university reform was both drastic enough in its co-management provisions to engender a fear of chaos, and sufficiently full of state controls and safeguards to provide protests to students and teachers anxious (for opposite reasons) to stick to their past, often irresponsible behavior. The regional reform suffered from a different mix of defects: it was so timid in its delegation of powers to the new bodies as to appear to genuine reformers as pseudo-decentralization, yet by giving to delegates of interest groups a status equal to that of territorial representatives it also angered the local political notables, beneficiaries of the status quo.

A second difficulty was one of timing. The reforms, whatever their flaws, may indeed have been essential for France's long-term development – belated and controversial yet indispensable removers of old bottlenecks. Yet de Gaulle, with his eyes on the future and his confidence in his appeal, ignored two stark facts. One, the vote of June 1968 had been a vote for peace and quiet, not for reform. The hostility of a large fraction of the Gaullist group in Parliament to Edgar Faure's education bill, which passed only because of de Gaulle's solid support was indicative. At a referendum, many past backers of de Gaulle would desert, convinced that a more "reasonable," i.e. less tempestuous and reformist ruler could anyhow be found, even among Gaullists, should the negative vote prevail: in January 1969, Pompidou had announced his availability for the Presidency, after de Gaulle. As for the old opponents of de Gaulle, however much reform could appeal to them in the abstract, they would vote no because of the reforms' origins or because of their timidity. Two, the measures taken since the fall in order to help the French economy overcome the consequences of the spring strikes and wage rises, and in order to save the franc, had increased the number of discontented citizens. The flight of French capital abroad, the shopkeepers' repeated strikes, the wave of protests against a planned rise in the inheritance tax, the workers' anger at the failure of wage talks in March, showed the extent of hostility toward and bewilderment at the zigzags of a policy that aimed both at internal reform (i.e. inevitable turbulence) *and* at a return to economic normalcy, both at renewed expansion and at a modicum of austerity. The drop in support for de Gaulle, by comparison with the last referendum in 1962 and with the second ballot of the 1965 Presidential elections, was particularly high among businessmen, shopkeepers, members of professions, and in the cities. The way was open to Pompidou.

This is the first of two articles. In his next, Mr. Hoffman will consider what part of de Gaulle's legacy his successors are likely to accept and what part of them likely to reject.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Last Summer

Allied Artists

Last Summer is about four adolescents at a beach resort. They are almost the only people in the picture, and the performances of the four are the best elements in it. Richard Thomas and Bruce Davison are convincing, particularly the former, but the two girls are extraordinary. Barbara Hershey has something of Jane Fonda about her: the same sexy imperiousness, an attractive yet unfruity voice, quick thrusts of hot true feeling, and sharp timing. Catherine Burns is supposed to be the least attractive of the quartet and, by *Playboy* standards, perhaps she is; but she is lovely in her dignity, in her proud revelations of secret feelings and the childlike humor bursting through her composure. If I were a sultan, I would like to buy Miss Hershey. If I had a daughter, I would like her to be Miss Burns. Frank Perry, who directed, must be credited with good casting and with evoking these performances.

From there on, the compliments get skimpier. The script by the director's wife, Eleanor Perry, adapted from Evan Hunter's novel, is built on a false assumption and on laborious parables. Its false assumption, which it shares with dozens of novels and stories and films, is that, by the very act of choosing adolescence as a subject, it displays special sensitivity, and it invites us to flutter right up there with it onto its assumed poetic plateau. Adolescence has indeed been the subject of some genuinely sensitive films, such as Olmi's *The Sound of Trumpets*, Menzel's *Closely Watched Trains*, Frankenheimer's *All Fall Down* (the family parts), and Troell's *Here's Your Life*. Each of these pictures begins by treating its adolescents as people, as characters, and then achieves sensitivity as an inevitability of the characters' truth. *Last Summer* begins by treating its characters as adolescents and *therefore* sensitive. From the start it has an air of self-conscious idyllic abstraction, which is heightened by the picturesque isolation of sand and sea and sky. All these produced in me an immediate foreboding that the four young people were going to act out a poignant little allegory.

They did. The story is built chiefly of three analagous episodes. The first is about a hurt seagull, whose plight unites Miss Hershey and the two boys. The poor bird almost wears a sign around its neck saying "Device." The girl's care for the bird is used to underscore her lonely estrangement from her gallivanting mother and the adult world, and it is not exactly a surprise to us when, after nursing the bird, the girl kills it, shocking and further attracting the two boys.

The second episode is about a Puerto Rican man who comes out from New York because of a prank Miss Hershey plays through a computer dating service. Long before he appears, we know he is going to be sweet and that the youngsters, although they will like him, are going to hurt him, one way or another. He is a figurative gull, as against the literal one.

The third, overarching episode is about Miss Burns. She is the odd girl out. The trio taunt her, befriend her, like her, tease her, and finally injure her grievously, just as with the bird and the Puerto Rican.

Despite this simplistic structure, the moral of the tale is muddied. Does this story tell us what happens to the children of a current generation of sybaritic parents? (Adults are never mentioned except in terms of ridicule or scorn, as mendacious or corrupt.) Or is it about the herd instinct and how the security of group violence overcomes finer instincts? If the former, the case is rigged. If the latter, it's as profound as those Westerns of some years ago in which a stranger rode into a town terrorized by a brute and acted out a little allegory about democracy standing up to fascism.

Apart from Frank Perry's work with the actors, his direction is commonplace at its best, and it's not always at its best. When Miss Hershey and the boys dance, we get a shot of them from the ground up that would have bored Busby Berkeley. When the boys lie on the ground in front of her, their heads fall into a neat pattern. When they smoke pot, we get Indian music on the sound track. When Miss Burns is assaulted by the other three in a woods, we get bird-song on the sound track. This irony would be blatant enough, but the bird-song is repeated so regularly and mechanically that it sounds as if a phonograph needle had got stuck. The last shot is from a helicopter zooming up and away from one of the boys on the beach. Troell used a vaguely similar shot at the end of *Here's Your Life* because it showed us the countryside out of which the protagonist had come and which he was now leaving; it was a last statement of source. With Perry, it is an empty aeronautical cliché.

Last Summer is rated X under the new rating system of the Motion Picture Association of America (discussed here Nov. 2, 1968), presumably because it has a rape scene. X means that those under 16 are not admitted. (In New York. Elsewhere the age may be a bit higher.) This is an example of one of the easily predictable stupidities of the rating system. I can't even figure out a consistent rationale in the MPAA ratings. *Goodbye, Columbus* is R, which means that those under 16 may see it if accompanied by elders, although it contains much nudity of happy lovers in bed and lots of sexy talk. Is it rape that makes the difference? But surely the last thing that the Perry's rape scene does is to incite the viewer to some rape of his own. It's much more credible that the sex scenes in *Goodbye, Columbus* would incite him to some jolly intercourse. Maybe the MPAA is trying to tell us something?

This and other instances of stupidity do not prove to me that the MPAA system was a bad move – at this moment in our history. There have been silly ratings since last November. Since last November, there have also been the election of Nixon, the appointment of Warren Burger as Chief Justice, the reelection of Sam Yorty in Los Angeles, and the New York mayoral primaries, to select a few out of many events in recent months that, no matter how they are rationalized, are not cheery news for libertarians. In the climate that seems to be coming, I still think it possible (repeat: possible) that the rating system will prove more helpful than otherwise, something of a bulwark against the flatfooted legal censorship that is already being discussed in many places.

In April the American Civil Liberties Union issued a policy statement on the

(Continued on Page 32)

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Lawrence Graver: Looking After Others

In My Own Time: Memoirs of a Literary Life by John Lehmann

(Atlantic-Little, Brown; $15.00)

As a literary figure, John Lehmann's celebrity rests on the ardor and skill with which he directed half-a-dozen magazines and publishing companies at different times over a thirty-five year period. From 1936 to the end of 1939, his *New Writing* appeared twice yearly with such pieces as Orwell's "Shooting an Elephant," Isherwood's *Berlin Stories*, sixteen of Auden's poems (including "Musée des Beaux Arts" and "Lay your sleeping head, my love"), and works by Pritchett, Silone, Spender, Sartre, Day Lewis, Pasternak, MacNeice, Brecht, and dozens of other men of large talent and small reputation. During the 1940's, in *Penguin New Writing*, *New Writing and Daylight*, and under his own company imprint, Lehmann continued to publish many of these writers, but added – as if for good measure – Dylan Thomas, Elizabeth Bowen, Edwin Muir, Lawrence Durrell, Edith Sitwell, Henry Green, P. H. Newby, Roy Fuller, Graham Greene, William Sansom, Paul Bowles, Eudora Welty, Lionel Trilling, Theodore Roethke, J. F. Powers, and Saul Bellow.

Small wonder, then, that these ventures should soon have become legendary, inspiring in both readers and writers a gratitude and loyalty matched by the audience of few other literary magazines. As Frank Kermode has testified: "Throughout those . . . corrupt and hideous years [John Lehmann] was a figure of central importance to thousands of people, scattered at random over the world, who cared for or aspired to literature. I can just about recapture the depression one felt when an overdue issue of *Penguin New Writing* was missing from an overdue mail delivery, and the fury one felt when it was stolen."

To explain Lehmann's effectiveness, one would, I think, have to invoke a set of specific historical circumstances and a wide range of personal gifts. Born in 1907 into an established and cultivated English family, he spent an idyllic Edwardian childhood, thriving on the advantages of breeding, geniality, and clean air. At Eton, he knew Orwell, Connolly, Anthony Powell, Henry Green, and Ian Fleming; at Cambridge, Michael Redgrave and Julian Bell, the son of Clive and Vanessa Bell and the nephew of Virginia Woolf. When in the late twenties Europe moved toward calamity, Lehmann in his early twenties moved toward manhood and an honorable place in the literary society of his time. Although he valued the solidities of tradition, he also understood the vulnerability of his inheritance and the threatening new facts of social and political experience. For many years afterwards, he could defend *belles lettres* with the confidence of an 18th-century aristocrat, while at the same time printing incendiary works by a broad spectrum of modernist writers.

But sensitivity and serviceable connections would have counted for little if Lehmann did not have a fundamental fitness for his job. In addition to his catholic taste and sharp eye for spotting talent, he had the ability to coax work out of blocked writers, and to convince a refractory novelist like Isherwood to press on. Not only did he recognize fine writing when it came into his offce, but by traveling across Europe to seek it out, he gave his magazines a rare and bracing cosmopolitanism. Matching patience with energy and pertinacity with good nature, he provided sustenance and an audience for hundreds of English, European, and American writers. If, as Kingsley Amis has said, "many of his swans turned out to be geese, a swans/geese ratio of 1:10 is all we can demand."

For the past fifteen years, Lehmann has been writing his autobiography, three parts of which have already appeared in England: *The Whispering Gallery* (1955), *I Am My Brother* (1960), and *The Ample Proposition* (1966). Now, revised, compressed, and elegantly decked out in one volume, it appears here as *In My Own Time: Memoirs of a Literary Life*. Given the merit of Lehmann's work as an editor, the centrality of his position, and the notorious behavior of his friends, one might have expected a spirited portrait of a literary generation, highlighted by vignettes of some of the more mettlesome writers who made its history. But the memoir is, on the whole, a drab piece of work, and towards the end of *The Whispering Gallery* there is a useful clue to explain why.

> "An editor, too, may hide a frustrated author in his soul; and in his case I do not see why the secret influences should not act altogether beneficially. Nearly all my life I have harbored a straws-in-the-hair babbler in a corner of my brain, distracting me on walks and at concerts and keeping me awake at night with his impossible imaginings and inordinate ambitions for epics, song-cycles, sonnet sequences, poetic dramas and novel series of modern life as long as the *Comédie Humaine*. Every new country I have visited, every new experience I have been involved in, every discovery I have made in human relationships, not to mention plays and films of genius I have seen, has set this babbler to his importunate demands on me. I could not carry out more than the tiniest fraction of his dizzy schemes: but he has made me look for their achievement in others, and know an excited satisfaction when I have come across authors whom I saw at once to be engaged on realizing in their art the new arrangement of life, the new music I had dreamt of myself, but knew to be

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beyond my powers."

Although Lehmann has remained admirably candid and convincing about the modest nature of his creative gifts, he does in an unexpected way let his long repressed literary ambitions get out of hand. Unlike his slender books of poetry and criticism, this 588-page memoir is built on an epic scale, and in addition to documenting the fortunes of the magazines he founded, Lehmann misguidedly spends much of his time mapping the social and political landscape of the age. Although the periodical history will prove most valuable to literary scholars, the family and social materials are either familiar or of little dramatic interest. Lehmann's boyhood was placid to the point of tedium, and he lacks the descriptive gifts and the intellectual resources to recapture London in wartime or the ideological conflicts of two turbulent decades. When he turns to private matters, his aristocratic reticence is often a fatal barrier to understanding, and his gentle magnanimity makes racy literary relationships seem unbelievably bland. Quarrels are minimized; conflict is always the result of misunderstanding; and no one in this set is ever seen to act from malice. Carried to such extremes, reserve becomes an obvious form of evasiveness.

Thus, the egotism that for years remained hidden behind the mask of the selfless editor emerges oddly here in wearisome accounts of eventless journeys, and in lovingly long-winded descriptions of parties at which few things memorable are ever said. When Lehmann offers specific literary judgments, one is forced to wonder about the origins of some of those famous

A *Wasp* Hymn

All men are brothers:
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and others.

All God's children are blessed:
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and the rest.

We are all one in His sight:
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and those whom the census designates as non-white.

To each of us His grace is willed:
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and the traditionally unskilled.

His love is ever seeking
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and the non-English speaking.

His amplitude embraces
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and municipal welfare cases.

Divinely He inspires
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and low-income-housing-project qualifiers.

A single Omnipotence rules
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and vocational guidance schools.

One Godhead hath created
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and the limited credit-rated.

United we all hearken to His almighty heeding:
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and those in need of remedial reading.

His great benificence imbues
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and those with sublimated I.Q.s.

Yes, his total glory doth infuse
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and those who do not belong to and therefore who do not have to pay any country club dues.

Then praise Him who fathers all believers:
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and socio-economico-culturally disadvantaged underachievers.

For the good Lord hath us all begot:
White Anglo-Saxon Protestants and not!

EVE MERRIAM

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MY SECRET LIFE
SUBURBAN SOULS
THE PEARL
A Journal of Voluptuous Reading
THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH
BY FRANTZ FANON
THE HANDBOOK FOR THE BLACK REVOLUTION THAT IS CHANGING THE SHAPE OF THE WORLD
FREEWHEELIN FRANK
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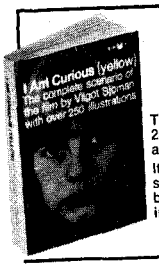

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editorial discriminations. Explaining the popularity of his sister's novel, *Dusty Answer*, he says: ". . . no amount of praise, even of the most hysterical kind, will move the public to read a book they find they do not like: It is the combination of the right praise at the right time with the *right book* that causes the avalanche at the lending libraries." Recording his first impression of Paul Bowles' *Let It Come Down*, Lehmann calls it: "a descent into hell by a master of infernal landscape . . . a book not to be put down till the very end."

Despite Lehmann's mildness, no book about an environment so crowded with waspish talent can be without its invigorating side. A few bright glimpses of Spender, Julian Bell, and the Woolfs enliven the narrative, and thankfully Lehmann has saved his letters.

Isherwood writes from Hollywood:

> "It is strange to live amongst these psychically virgin Californians, with their sound teeth and intact nerves. . . . This studio has just finished 'The Mortal Storm' – which will probably be good, but terribly funny, because the nice Germans are played by Americans, and the nasty ones by German refugees. I am just about to start a picture about Chopin, who is to be whitewashed for Robert Donat. . . . First line of our picture: 'Hullo.' Last line: 'Let's hope and pray he is.' You can guess the rest."

Virginia Woolf, traveling in Greece with Roger Fry, sends word home that:

> "Roger is the greatest fun – as mild as milk, but if you've ever seen milk that is also quicksilver you'll know what I mean. He disposes of whole museums with one brush of his tail. He plays chess when the dust is sweeping the pawns from the board. He writes articles with one hand, and carries on violent arguments with the other. It has been far the best holiday we've had for years, and I feel deeply grateful to you, for sitting in your doghole so stalwartly."

And Emerald Cunard, one of the famous hostesses of the day, is described on her deathbed, feeling as if she were moving through crowds of a grand party, but unable "to make out who the host is."

It is, I suppose, fitting that the man who directed *New Writing* should, in his autobiography, have his best material provided for him by others. Mr. Lehmann's monument seems destined to remain the books he edited, not the book he wrote.

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Robin Fox: At Last – The Book Itself

The Elementary Structures of Kinship by Claude Levi-Strauss

(Beacon; $15.00)

As more and more of Lévi-Strauss's work appears in translation we can expect, or at least hope, that criticism of him will become better informed. It has taken 20 years to get *Les Structures Élémentaires de la Parenté* translated into English. In the meantime, hundreds or even thousands of student essays, as well as many serious academic commentaries, have been penned by people who have never read it in French. When I was a graduate student in the late fifties, I was told that there was no need to read it in the original because (a) there was a crib – De Josselin De Jong's *Lévi-Strauss's Theory on Kinship and Marriage*, and (b) the whole book had been admirably refuted in Homans and Schneider's *Marriage, Authority and Final Causes*. It was not at all evident to anyone who knew the original that the authors of the latter had read it either – in fact they obviously depended heavily on the crib themselves, but graduate students cramming for their "comprehensives" simply memorized the arguments against Lévi-Strauss in Homans and Schneider, passed with distinction, and moved on to teach the "refutation" to yet more aspirants to comprehension. And what of the voluminous tome that was the source of all this energy? There was no use, it was implied, in clogging our minds with known error. There exists no more terrible indictment of the superficiality and failure of the Ph.D. system than the treatment of this brilliant and original book.

Voices in fact were raised in indignation against the misunderstanding and distortion. British anthropologist Rodney Needham did a magnificent hatchet job on the Homans and Schneider argument in his *Structure and Sentiment*. What is more he did it with the gloves off. The critics were not just wrong, they were irresponsible. The issues of this battle are still obscured by the smoke of accusation and counteraccusation, and the bibliography grows as if by geometric progression. The argument now has its own momentum in which the original cause

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fades into the distance and attention is concentrated on the last ingenious piece of hairsplitting or self-righteous denunciation from the little coterie of critical vultures who have fastened on the corpse of the stillborn argument. Still, think of the material this will provide for all those future M.A. candidates. The business of one generation of scholars, I am coming to believe, is to make enough mistakes to keep the next generation in employment. In anthropology at least we are not failing in our duty to our successors.

From all this the master stood aloof. Then he dropped his bombshell. Not only were his original critics wrong, it seems, but his loyal knight, Needham, in putting the case for the defense, had introduced some even worse distortions. God had repudiated the Pope. The whole battlefield was thrown into even greater turmoil with most participants now fighting on several fronts. The firing is getting wilder.

Readers of the translation, who do not know the background, will perhaps be puzzled by the curious sniping that goes on between the editor of the volume and the author, via the prefaces. The editor is Rodney Needham. (Let me add that he has done a superb job; no author could have been better served.)

But who will read the translation and why – apart from anthropologists that is? Most of the commentaries have stressed that the book is about "cross-cousin marriage" and its theoretical interpretation, and as Lévi-Strauss himself complains, if this is all the book is really about then it wasn't worth the fantastic amount of labor and scholarship that went into it. It is of course about much more than that. It is not only a way of looking at systems of kinship and marriage from a new angle – which again would make it only of interest to the specialists – but an attempt to delineate the very conditions of being human. In it is contained the germs of those ideas which have since elevated Lévi-Strauss to the stature of Marx and Freud, and given birth to the industry of "structuralism." Many of those in philosophy, literature, politics, psychiatry, etc., as well as the general mob of the well read, who are pretty up-to-date with Lévi-Strauss on mythology and the structural method, have never read this basic book either. The fashionable intellectual world caught up with the Gallic wizard when he was chasing other butterflies than cross-cousin marriage, and it was perhaps *La Pensée Sauvage* (now in translation as *The Savage Mind*) as much as any other book that was responsible for the great public success. A running debate with Sartre of course helped. And indeed, looking back to my own undergraduate days in the early fifties, I can see that Lévi-Strauss now occupies much the position in European intellectual circles that Sartre did then. Whatever one's position, in politics, literature, or the theory of knowledge, one had to make one's peace or break one's lance with Sartre and existentialism. In those days it meant many hours in tedious reading of gloomy Germans and an intimate acquaintance with the oddities of Danish grandfathers; now it makes the mythology of the Kwakiutl or the marriage customs of the Australian Aborigines part of the stock-in-trade of the well-equipped intellect. This, by and large, has caught anthropologists with their trousers down, for most of them have not got within striking distance of understanding Lévi-Strauss either, and unless they are devotees they are often suspicious in the extreme of his use of "their" data.

What, then, will they find? Ostensibly a book about the author's self-defined category of "elementary" kinship systems, defined as those systems in which "the nomenclature permits the immediate determination of the circle of kin and that of affines, that is, those systems which prescribe marriage with a certain type of relative, or alternatively, those which, while defining all members of the society as relatives, divide them into two categories, viz., possible spouses and prohibited spouses." Our own system is, in his language, "complex," in that the determination of the spouse is not "given" in the terminology. Such systems as ours content themselves with defining the "circle of relatives," and the only regulation about marriage is that it should not be with these. This is the difference between "positive" systems which insist that marriage take place with a certain kind of relative, and "negative" systems which leave the

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

LAWRENCE GRAVER *teaches English at Williams College.* ROBIN FOX *teaches anthropology at Rutgers University.*

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choice of spouse open and merely prohibit certain relatives. Elementary systems are very widespread, and typically prescribe marriage with some kind of cousin. The book attempts to classify all the types of elementary system, to explain their dynamics, and to say something of their evolution. But it is not so much the details of the Miwok or Kachin or Sema Naga that will concern most readers, it is the underlying assumptions and arguments.

These elementary structures, for Lévi-Strauss, lie close to the roots of our humanity. What, he asks in his first chapter, is the feature that distinguishes nature from culture, and hence man from the animal? What is the one universal and basic feature of human social life that marks this divide? The answer is the incest taboo. This is a rule and a basic rule. It is an "intrusion" of culture into nature, an imposition of will, of design – human design. It is the essential bridge between natural processes (reproduction) and cultural processes (rules). All culture involves the intervention of rules to govern natural processes, but the rule against incest is, in his words, "*the* intervention." It is, however, not simply a one-sided rule, not merely a negative prohibition. There is a "universe of rules" involving material goods as well as women. Everywhere goods and women (and services) are involved in elaborate systems of exchange. Here he draws on Marcel Mauss who made the business of exchange the core of human social life. Giving and receiving, and the obligation to both give and receive, lie behind whole systems of transactions which are themselves whole social systems. The basic principle here is simple. If I give away all I have I become dependent on others to give to me, and if we are all doing this we become *interdependent*. Now women, in this view, are part of the total system of exchange. If I have to give away my mother, sisters and daughters (the incest taboo), then I depend on others to provide me with women in turn. Thus Lévi-Strauss views the incest taboo, as we have seen, not as simply negative. It is part of the urge to exchange, and hence to produce dependency, and hence human society. (He would not like the word "urge" in this context I think, and while I would defend my use of the term, that will have to wait until another time.)

So, I give up my women and take up yours and we thus become linked as affines. But more often than not in primitive societies these prescriptions and prohibitions apply to social groups rather than just individual families. Lévi-Strauss proceeds to examine some of the typical "structures" that emerge when the principle of reciprocity applies to groups. He pauses to point out that "primitives" are not simply an archaic version of ourselves – an example of childish mentality – but that the processes he is describing are universal in the human psyche; a theme to which he returns in *The Savage Mind* and *Totemism*. The simplest forms of these exchanges of women can be found in societies with "dual organization." Here the tribe is divided into two groups (A and B for simplicity). Men of A cannot marry women of A but must marry women of B and vice versa. He tackles theories which link this historically to the marriage of cousins – a matter too complex to deal with in a few lines – and concludes that both forms of marriage reflect a "dualistic" tendency and are expressions of the same principle rather than historically related institutions – a conclusion which again foreshadows arguments in later work on matters other than kinship.

Thus the stage is set. Basic to culture are rules, the basic rule is the rule of reciprocity, and the basic act of reciprocity is the exchange of women. Although among the "simpler" societies all kinds of systems are found, those in which the reciprocity is systematized and reflected in the language of kinship are common and not found at higher stages of technological development. It is as though in these societies there is an unwillingness to leave the reciprocity to chance; thus there is not only a rule forcing me to relinquish consanguine females, but a rule constraining me to marry yet other related women. Societies can achieve systems of great elaboration given this basic tendency, and the bulk of the book is taken up with attempts to interpret these systems. Basically there are two types: those in which women are exchanged directly, and those in which they "circulate." Thus in one type group A gives to group B which gives to group A and so on back and forth. This is "direct exchange." In the other type A gives to B which in turn gives to C which may give to A again. A great deal of theoretical debate has been woven around

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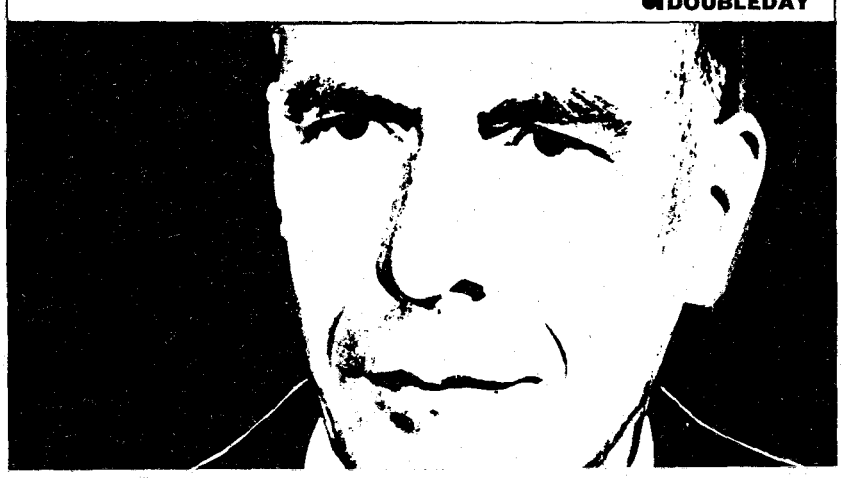

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Lévi-Strauss's contention that greater "social solidarity" can be achieved with the latter system while the former has a kind of evolutionary upper limit. Most of the debate has missed the strong evolutionary interests of the author. The most neglected chapter in the book is 28, "The Transition to Complex Structures," where he tries to show how "complex" systems may have emerged from "elementary" ones by ever more flexible "cycles" of generalized exchange. This approach may well come into its own in the future and may be the key to understanding the "adaptational" functions of kinship systems. After all, there must be some payoff that inclines social evolution in one direction or another with regard to kinship systems, but at the moment we are a long way from knowing what it is.

What a juicy book this is for the experts. The Australianists will go into frenzies over his misinterpretations of eight-section systems and marriage with mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter; the China experts will gnash their teeth over his mishandling of the complex data on marriage and mourning grades; the Indianists will boggle at the idea of caste being a response of generalized exchange to hierarchy—and so on. But when the smoke has cleared the flag will still be flying. No book since *Totem and Taboo* has so challenged the imagination and forced anthropologists and all concerned with what it is to be human to examine their premises. Let me state for the record that I have what I think are profound reservations about his nature-culture dichotomy which I feel is based on inadequate information about the "state of nature." But in the 1940s we were not so well informed, and our author had at least the courtesy to *look* at data from animal studies in an attempt to ascertain what the state of nature was. His colleagues were largely content to make assertions on the basis of anecdote or sheer prejudice. In the preface to this translation he acknowledges that the sharp line he drew between man and animal is much more blurred than he made it appear, and that culture may be more "natural" than anthropology has been willing to acknowledge. But this does not matter.

In ranking this book with *Totem and Taboo* I doubt if I will please its author, who regards Freud's conclusions as totally erroneous, but this is my point. Even if Lévi-Strauss's specific conclusions prove to be false, the book will stand as a monumental effort to force us back to the question of our own humanity: What is it that makes us Man? Like Freud he is asking, "What must have happened to make the breakthrough from nature to culture?" And like Freud he sees that we will be constantly obsessed with that question. For Freud the obsession was reflected in our whole Oedipal syndrome and cropped up insistently in myth and poetry; for Lévi-Strauss most mythologies ultimately reflect man's obsession with his place in, and separation from, the world of nature. And both ultimately are interested in basic mental processes which are at the root of all societies, all myths, all culture. If we are to understand kinship systems, Lévi-Strauss maintains (p. 75), ". . . inquiry must be directed to certain fundamental structures of the human mind, rather than to some privileged region of the world or to a certain period in the history of civilization." This inquiry into basic mental processes is launched in the final chapter, which, while called "The Principles of Kinship," might well have been titled "The Principles of Everything"—for here the "universe of rules" is expanded to the "universe of communication." The rules of incest force us to commu-

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nicate, and what we communicate are women. Kinship systems then are sets of rules about how to communicate women, in the same way that grammatical systems are sets of rules about how to communicate words. Words are by their very nature things to be exchanged. A man who talks only to himself misuses words and is regarded as mad. The same is true of women. Women like words are things to be exchanged in complex systems of communication. But it is well to remember that "in the matrimonial dialogue of men, woman is never purely what is spoken about. . . . In contrast to words, which have wholly become signs, woman has remained at once a sign and a value. This explains why the relations between the sexes have preserved that affective richness, ardor and mystery which doubtless originally permeated the entire universe of human communication." (p. 496) It is in search of the "ardor and mystery" of human communication in myth and legend that Lévi-Strauss has traveled since this early work, and where most of his admirers and critics have followed. Nevertheless, the grammar of myth and the grammar of kinship are not discontinuous, for both are lodged in the deep structures of the universal grammar of communication – if we may borrow a metaphor from Chomsky – the rules of which still elude us. But in the general pursuit of these butterflies, Lévi-Strauss is one of the few men with a net.

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Law and the Left

Sirs:

As you point out in your lead note on "Resurgence of Reaction?" (June 28), recent election returns from New York, Minneapolis, and other cities highlight the rapidly growing threat to the American left that is posed by the "crime in the streets" issue. Unless we recognize the validity of this issue – stripped of its demagogic accretions – and break the rightist monopoly of its

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use, a continuing series of debacles can be expected.

In a long-range sense, it is still true that solution of the crime problem lies in a reconstruction of our economic and social institutions, but in the short run we are compelled to act within existing constraints. What is needed, here and now, is an alternative to the "law and order" rhetoric, an alternative that is both realistic and consistent with democratic principles. Some of the elements of such a program are:

(1) Redirect police attention from the persecution of peaceful demonstrators to the pursuit of criminals.

(2) Reallocate police efforts from the harassment of prostitutes, pot smokers, homosexuals, and other harmless "criminals" to the prevention of street violence.

(3) Reexamine the extensive police services provided without charge to private businesses (such as baseball clubs) that could well afford their own security arrangements, with a view to freeing additional police manpower to protect the general public.

(4) Improve the quality of police departments through higher wages and better working conditions (which might also help to neutralize the now-heightened susceptibility of the police to extreme rightwing influence).

(5) Recruit auxiliary police, and assign them to their own neighborhoods, where they would supplement regular personnel and also bring law enforcement into closer contact with the community.

(6) Take strong action to repress police brutality, not only as a matter of elementary justice, but also as a law enforcement measure, because such action is an absolute prerequisite to establishing the necessary minimum of cooperation between the police and the black population.

Above all, it is necessary to give explicit and sympathetic recognition to the popular demand for personal security, and to understand that demand as no more reactionary, in itself, than the desire for full employment, safe cars, or peace in Vietnam. If we on the left continue to withhold such recognition, we shall intensify the alienation of ordinary working people, without whom we cannot hope to win and with whom the right is now most incongruously allied.

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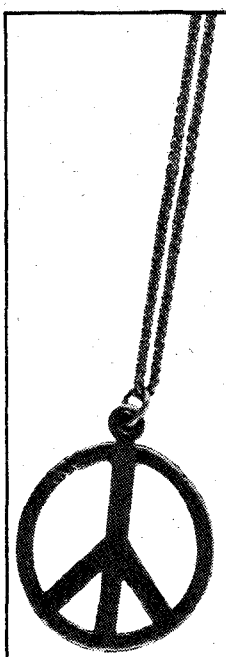

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Kauffmann, *from page 22*

MPAA system, a statement that I think is highly questionable. It notes that the ACLU has long criticized the picture industry's Code, that the new system is admittedly an improvement over the Code, that it is designed to ward off governmental censorship. Then the statement says:

> "Nevertheless, our analysis of the voluntary rating system leads to the conclusion that it acts as a prior restraint on the creative process and denies film makers access to the free market-place where the public, the ultimate arbiter of film fare, can make its judgment."

To support this conclusion, the ACLU refers to the "myriad instances [in the past] where local moralists have insisted on the withdrawal of films they regarded as objectionable" and, through various pressures, got their way. The ACLU fears that "the power of the boycott group can be so great as to pressure exhibitors against taking any X-rated film." This conclusion ignores the intent of the ratings, imperfectly though they may function. Their purpose is to undercut boycott by clearly labeling the product, by making audience deception or surprise impossible, and by excluding children from X films. If a boycott group protests an X film, they cannot, on the face of it, contend that they are protecting minors; nor can they contend that an adult will see the picture without being aware that – in someone's view, at least – it is considered morally daring. The system can be said to facilitate the showing of such films, rather than the contrary; and my own small field-check, in various parts of the country, shows that, to some degree, this has been the result.

The ACLU worries that X films will not run on television. The worry seems premature, since these films will not be available to TV for some years, and who would have predicted *Laugh-in* five years ago? But if TV mores do not themselves change, what difference will the absence of an X make to network censors? Anyway, the subject of TV is irrelevant, since it involves a quite different audience, which gets the material in a quite different way and place.

The only instance of "prior restraint" cited by the ACLU is a statement by Robert Aldrich, the producer-director of *The Killing of Sister George*. He says that, in his new contract with his backers, he has had to guarantee that his future films will not receive X ratings. But even Aldrich does not object to the ratings as such. He specifically states that "lack of adequate education by the MPAA on the true meaning of X-ratings has set the stage for economic censorship. . . ." This is an indictment of the poor explanation of the system, not of the system itself. From this, one can infer that Aldrich sees that the X-rating was intended as an empowerment, not a restriction, and that it is being misunderstood.

I deplore, with the ACLU, the fact that the X-rating interferes with the right of a parent to take his child to any film he chooses. I said so in my first article, where I also deplored (like the ACLU) the silly and inconsistent age limits. But if I am forced to choose – and such a choice looms – between the right of those under 16 to see X-rated pictures and the possibility that pictures now rated X might be completely suppressed, I have no hesitation in choosing.

In its last paragraph the ACLU says:

> "The voluntary rating system now in effect, no matter what its avowed purpose, levels a deadening hand of sterility and conformity on creative people."

The only instance given of this "deadening hand" is Mr. Aldrich. But he concedes that the backers of *Sister George* had the right to edit his picture without his consent, a right granted long before the rating system was instituted. The backers' final control is very much more the rule than the exception in American films – a fact not apparent in the ACLU's airy statements about the freedom of creative film people. (How about an ACLU policy statement protesting *that* peonage of American directors?) The rating system is not responsible for the deadening hands in our film world.

It may even lighten those hands. For what is happening at the box-office with such X-rated films as *Last Summer* and *Midnight Cowboy*? So far they seem to be prospering. Aldrich's backers will not have missed that news. And there is plenty of evidence of pictures now in preparation that, far from suffering from prior restraint, mean to benefit from the true intention of the labeling.

It feels strange to be arguing in favor of classification. But there seems to be a war shaping up, and a faulty weapon is better than none. In any civilized view, the rating system is shameful; but the conditions that make it possibly necessary and possibly helpful are more shameful.

There is a humorous, pragmatic side to the question. In the *Educational Forum* (March, 1969) Martin S. Dworkin says:

> "It is unlikely that the worldlings of the movie business really believe in the real authority of parents of the 1960's over the viewing habits of children of movie-going age, especially older adolescents. What they obviously do believe in is some display of reliance on parental power, while theater managers do something *in loco parentis* – enough, at least, to hold off action by local censorship authorities. . . ."

Basically, that's all I hope for, I guess: that the rating system will prove a useful fraud.

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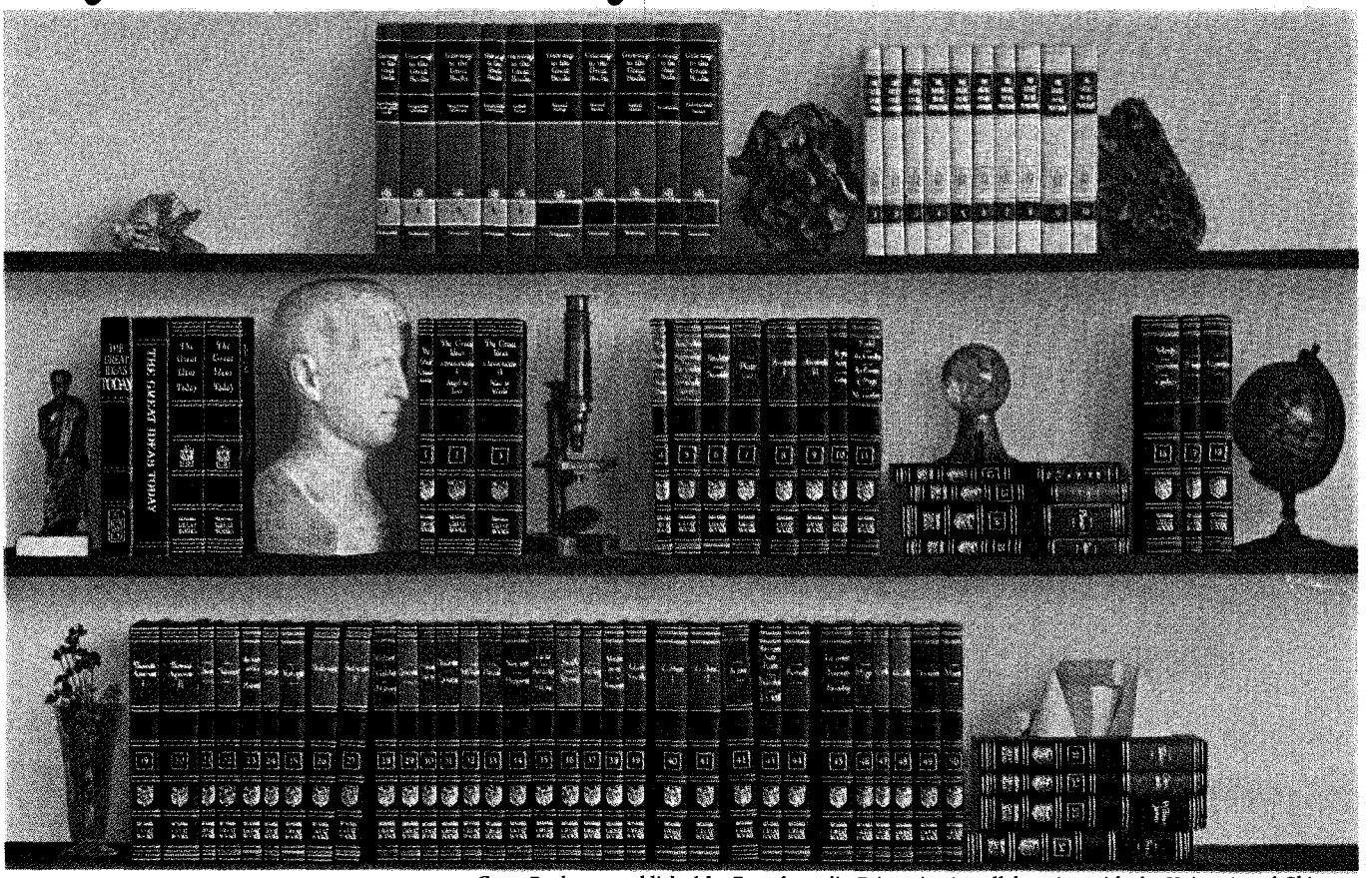

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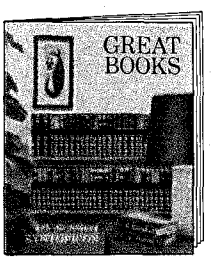

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For nearly seven months Picasso worked in a creative frenzy at his studio in Mougins, France, turning out as many as four engravings in a single day, often with as many as six variations of each. "Ole!", "Bravo!", "Magnifico!", he would exclaim as each new engraving was pulled from the press, and so ecstatic was he over the quality of the work that on several occasions he summoned friends from as far off as London and New York to view the work in progress. Finally, on October 5th, he bundled the engravings together, inscribed them with the title "347 Gravures," and announced "Ya!" ("It is finished!").

The engravings Picasso had created are, collectively, his masterwork, a fitting climax to the career of a man whose dedication, both in personal life and work, has been to the sensual. "Without the awakening of ardent love, no life—and therefore no art—has any meaning," Picasso is quoted by his biographer, Roland Penrose, as saying. And nowhere in the prodigious, 20,000-piece *oeuvre* of this fertile genius has ardent love been more beautifully—or joyfully—portrayed. Throughout the engravings voluptuous majas surrender themselves, lustful satyrs disport, and troupes of swooning acrobats perform in a circus of love. Picasso's irrepressible love of mischief is in evidence, too, in scenes of grandees cuckolded, harems invaded, and models seduced by lecherous painters. The last theme is the one most often repeated in the series, with the painters puckishly made to resemble Rembrandt, Raphael, and, of course, Picasso himself. (Picasso's lifelong friend, Max Jacob, has said, "Picasso would much rather be remembered as a famous Don Juan than an artist.") All in all, Picasso's "347 Gravures" reflect such consummate craftsmanship, timeless subject matter, and sublime inspiration as to ensure their place as the greatest art treasure of the 20th Century.

If the artistic value of "347 Gravures" is considerable, its commercial value is perhaps even greater. The engravings, which have been printed in a limited edition of 50 sets, have fetched a price of *ten million dollars!* This is more than has ever before been paid for a work of art. Moreover, because of rumors that circulated throughout the art world concerning the superexcellence of the engravings, all 50 sets were subscribed to even before Picasso had finished making them!

Art critics who have seen the engravings have been positively apostolic in their praise. "These etchings reach the zenith of man's creative power. They rank with 'Hamlet,' Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and Michelangelo's 'Last Judgment.' That is to say, they are classic," says Robert Glauber, of Skyline. LIFE: "Picasso's most trenchant exploration of sex and sexuality ...As never before, the master seems bent on describing that idyllic state wherein the spirit and flesh are one." Herald-Tribune (Paris): "A major undertaking...amazing...extraordinary ...staggering...incredible. Picasso's brilliance conquers all." TIME: "A virtuoso performance." Armand St. Clair, Revue de Paris: "Mesmerizing ...If I had a choice among all the works Picasso has produced, I would take this one without hesitation." Franz Schulze, Chicago Daily News: "What a difference between Picasso's view of sex and the sniggering, guilt-ridden American pornography of today." Brian Fitzherbert, Nova: "Once again, Picasso demonstrates his astounding power of regeneration." Harold Joachim, Curator of Prints, Art Institute of Chicago: "Astonishing...A compelling testimony of Picasso's amazing energy and power of invention at the age of 87." Harold Haydon, Chicago Sun-Times: "A great surprise package ...Unparalleled for sustained interest and quality." Pierre Cabanne, Plexus: "The Last Will and Testament of the father of modern art."

It is with great pride, therefore, and humility, that the editors of AVANT-GARDE announce that their magazine has been chosen as the medium through which Picasso's monumental new work will be shown to the world. Picasso's Paris representative, the Societe de la Propriete Artistique, has appointed AVANT-GARDE as the sole proscenium for presentation of the quintessence of "347 Gravures." Mindful of the awesome responsibility that this singular honor imposes, the editors of AVANT-GARDE have spared neither expense nor effort to ensure that "347 Gravures" receives the premiere it deserves.

To begin with, an entire issue of AVANT-GARDE—64 pages—will be devoted exclusively to this one subject. The issue will carry no advertising. The world's foremost graphic designer, Herb Lubalin, has been retained to design this special issue. Costly antique paper stocks and flame-set colored inks will be used throughout. The issue will be printed by time-consuming duotone offset lithography and will be bound in 12-point Frankote boards, for permanent preservation. All in all, this lavishly produced issue of AVANT-GARDE will more closely resemble an expensive art folio than a magazine. The editors of AVANT-GARDE are determined that their presentation of the quintessence of Picasso's "347 Gravures" will be a landmark not only in the history of art, but in publishing, as well.

Copies of this special collector's edition of AVANT-GARDE will not be offered for sale to the general public. They are being given away—*free*—as a gift to all new subscribers to AVANT-GARDE.

In case you've never heard of AVANT-GARDE, let us explain that it is the most beautiful—and daring—magazine in America today. Although launched only two years ago, already it has earned a reputation as *the* outstanding showcase for the exhibition of creative talent. This reputation stems from AVANT-GARDE's editorial policy of *complete and absolute freedom of creative expression*. AVANT-GARDE steadfastly refuses to sacrifice creative genius on the altar of "morality" (the motto of the magazine is "Down with bluenoses, blue laws, and blue pencils"). Thus, the world's most gifted artists, writers, and photographers continually bring to AVANT-GARDE their most uninhibited—and inspired—works. AVANT-GARDE serves—consistently—as a haven for the painting that is "too daring," the novella that is "too outrageous," the poem that is "too sensuous," the cartoon that is "too satirical," the reportage that is "too graphic," the opinion that is "too candid," the photograph that is "too explicit." AVANT-GARDE is proud of its reputation as the wild game sanctuary of American arts and letters.

In addition to Picasso, contributors to AVANT-GARDE include such renowned figures as Norman Mailer, Arthur Miller, Kenneth Tynan, Dan Greenburg, Allen Ginsberg, Paul Krassner, Dr. Karl Menninger, Andy Warhol, Eliot Elisofon, Richard Avedon, John Updike, Roald Dahl, Art Kane, Charles Schulz, Bert Stern, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, S.J. Perelman, James Baldwin, Alan Watts, Salvador Dali, Terry Southern, Isaac Bashevis Singer, William Burroughs, Paul Goodman, Kenneth Rexroth, Jean Genet, and Marshall McLuhan.

Critics everywhere have spent themselves in a veritable orgy of praise over AVANT-GARDE. "Reality freaks, unite! Weird buffs, rejoice! AVANT-GARDE has arrived bearing mind-treasures of major proportions," says the San Francisco Chronicle. "AVANT-GARDE is guaranteed to shake the cobwebs out of the mind," says the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner. "An exotic literary menu...A wild new thing on the New York scene," says Encounter. "AVANT-GARDE is aimed at readers of superior intelligence and cultivated taste who are interested in the arts, politics, science—and sex," says The New York Times. "The fantastic artwork, alone, is worth the price of the magazine," says the News Project. "A field manual by the avant-garde, for the avant-garde," says New York critic Robert Reisner. "AVANT-GARDE's articles on cinema, rock, and the New Scene are a stoned groove," says the East Village Other. "Off-beat, arty, sexy," says the New York Daily News. "It's the sawn-off shotgun of American critical writing," says the New Statesman. "Its graphics are stylish," says TIME. "AVANT-GARDE is MAGAZINE POWER!" says poet Harold Seldes. "Wow! What a ferris wheel! I was high for a week after reading it," says the pop critic of Cavalier.

Subscriptions to AVANT-GARDE ordinarily cost $10 per year. In conjunction with this special Picasso erotic engravings offer, however, we are offering ten-month introductory subscriptions for *ONLY $5!* This is virtually *HALF PRICE!!* To enter your subscription (five issues)—*and obtain a copy of the Picasso erotic engravings folio ABSOLUTELY FREE*—simply fill out the coupon below and mail it with $5 to: AVANT-GARDE, 110 W. 40 St., New York, N.Y. 10018.

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